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ART. I. — *Synopsis of the Cruise of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years* 1838, 1839, 1840, *and* 1841, *delivered before the National Institute, by its Commander*, CHARLES WILKES, *on the twentieth of June*, 1842.

IT is now more than eleven months since the return of this important Expedition, freighted with results which justified the utmost expectations of those who were concerned in fitting it out, or who felt an interest in its success ; and it is upwards of nine months since the interesting document, the title of which we have affixed to this article, has been before the public. It was prepared at the request of the Secretary of the Navy himself, after listening to the unpretending narrative of the chief events of his voyage, given by Mr. Wilkes before the National Institute at Washington, shortly after his return, and contains a succinct statement of the whole cruise of the Exploring Squadron, with a rapid sketch of the brilliant results obtained by the expedition. And yet this narrative of an achievement so honorable to the navy, so useful to the commerce and navigation of the country, so creditable to its projectors, and so beneficial to science, has excited less of public attention in the United States than any of the hundred tales of misery and crime which daily occupy the columns of our papers in all their disgusting details. The results of this expedition will be the first contribution to science offered to the world by the

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government of the United States, and we will venture to say, for we have carefully examined them, that they are worthy of the nation that presents them. In the peaceful pursuits of science, as in all the great attributes of a warlike marine, our navy has, to say the least, entered into honorable competition with the navies of the great maritime nations of Europe.

Why is it, then, that the commanders of similar expeditions, so frequently despatched by those powers, are, in all cases, rewarded by the thanks and honors of their sovereign, and their toils and sufferings amply repaid by the sympathy and applause of their fellow countrymen, while the officers of this expedition, who have toiled and suffered as much, and succeeded to the full as well, have been neglected, and even persecuted, since their return home? We are unwilling to consider this conduct of the government and people of the United States as a fresh illustration of the common saying, that Republics are always ungrateful. We are rather inclined to believe, that it has arisen from unfounded prejudices that prevail respecting the character and conduct of the accomplished officers who commanded the two ships, and with regard to the circumstances attending the appointment of Mr. Wilkes, who is only a lieutenant in the navy, to so high and important a command. He was, as he says himself, accused of manœuvring at Washington to obtain this command; an accusation which he fully disproves, by the united testimony of all who had any concern in fitting out the expedition. No blame, therefore, ought to be attached to him for accepting an honorable appointment, when it was tendered to him by his superiors, without any solicitation on his part. Whatever obloquy attaches to this selection must be cast upon the appointing power alone. Mr. Poinsett, in reply to the interrogatory of Mr. Wilkes on this subject, expressly says;—"It (the appointment) was conferred upon you by the President, on my recommendation, given without any solicitation whatever, and before you, or any person connected with you, could have been aware of my intention to propose you for this service." He who was then Secretary of War is, therefore, the only person responsible for this recommendation, and, in truth, for the selection of Mr. Wilkes for this command. This officer himself stands acquitted of all participation in the insult, as it has

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been termed, offered to his superiors in rank in the service. He is guilty only of having accepted a command, which he fully understood involved great responsibility, and must be attended with disgrace, if he failed to meet the high expectations entertained by the public of the results of this expedition. But what young officer, who felt himself equal to the task, would have declined this distinguished service? We ask, in all candor, whether, if he had done so, he would have been worthy of the rank which he bore, or of the navy in which he was reared?

Let us say one word on the principle of selecting officers for a particular service without regard to their rank, before we explain the circumstances which led to the appointment of Mr. Wilkes. It has become necessary to discuss it, because even the younger officers have been clamorous against this exercise of a necessary privilege of government. We regard the occasional exercise of this privilege as in a high degree beneficial to the army and navy; and, to the honor of the former service, it is to be noted, that no objection has ever been made by its officers to the means of distinction being placed in the hands of one of their number who was their subordinate in rank; but they have rejoiced in successes gained by persons in any station, which added lustre to their branch of the service. If this principle is to be abandoned, there is no incentive left to the junior officers. They may neglect the studies connected with their profession, stay on shore when they can, perform their duties carelessly, and still be sure of the only reward they can ever look forward to, — slow, but certain, promotion. No hope or expectation is to be entertained, that they may be one day chosen to execute some hardy enterprise, which may illustrate their names, and confer honor on the service to which they belong. They are to be doomed to insignificance, and, therefore, it matters not whether they become accomplished officers or not. Woe to the country where such ideas prevail among those who are charged with its defence! On the other hand, is the government to be reduced to the necessity of employing an officer on all occasions and emergencies, even the most important and critical, because he is of the prescribed rank, and stands foremost on the list, however incapable and inefficient he may be? Surely, no one will advocate a system which might, and, indeed, necessarily would, insure defeat and disgrace.

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In order that the motives may be properly understood, which led to the departure from the ordinary rules of service on this occasion, it will be necessary briefly to advert to the circumstances in which the expedition was placed by the resignation of Capt. T. Ap Catesby Jones, who had been appointed to the command by President Jackson, and to the causes which compelled President Van Buren to intrust the completion of its outfit, and the task of getting it to sea, to the Secretary of War. Under the direction of Captain Jones, three vessels, a ship and two brigs, had been constructed for the express purposes of this expedition, a small schooner purchased, and a frigate, the *Macedonian*, completely fitted for the cruise. The public were anxiously waiting the departure of the squadron, which was assembled at New York; indeed, they were becoming clamorous at the delay; when suddenly it was announced, that Captain Jones had resigned. Of the correspondence between this officer and the Secretary of the Navy, it is foreign from our purpose to speak, except to observe, that it exhibits throughout a want of that respectful courtesy which ought to characterize expressions addressed by a junior to a superior officer.

And here we must remark, that it is too common a fault with the junior officers in our navy to treat their superiors with disrespect, —not always in a manner which would subject them to a court-martial, although instances of this kind are of too frequent occurrence, — but with a taunting manner, calculated to irritate, and to discredit their commander with his subordinates, and thereby to undermine and destroy the strict discipline which is required on board a vessel of war, in order to render the service safe and efficient. We will venture to assert, that such conduct as has been brought to light in the trial of Commodore Elliot, and in some court-martials recently held, was never witnessed in any other naval service in the world. Not so were reared the gallant officers who gave our navy the standing it now has among the nations of the earth. And we say it in no unkind spirit towards the younger officers of our service, that they are preparing for themselves a period of suffering and bitter humiliation. They too must, in the natural course of events, be called to the command of squadrons, and to lead our ships into distant seas, and on hazardous enterprises; and, if something be not done to check this spirit of insubordination,

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they too are destined to experience the care, anxiety, and mortification, which attend a commander whose inferiors treat him with inattention, and covert or open disrespect.

But we return to the proper subject of this article, from which we have been led by an anxious desire to see maintained, not only the high and chivalrous spirit, but the character for discipline, acquired by our navy in its infancy, and so gallantly and successfully sustained until the close of the last war. Captain Jones's resignation renewed the difficulties of the Secretary of the Navy. He found a large squadron manned and equipped for sea, with a corps of scientific men selected to accompany it, more numerous than had ever accompanied any naval or military expedition, except, perhaps, the French, when they invaded Egypt under Bonaparte, and incumbered with a mass of materials collected by these *savans*, for which it was difficult to find stowage. The first care of Mr. Dickerson was, to find a commander to replace Captain Jones, and, with great judgment, he selected for that purpose, first, Captain Shubrick, and next, Captain Perry; but, as both these officers declined the undertaking, and as it had been considered proper not to order any officer to this squadron, but to cause the services to be voluntarily rendered, their excuses were accepted. Every thing relating to the squadron appeared to be brought to a stand by their refusal. The public clamor against the delay increased, and at length Congress began to notice it, and to call for information. At this period, Mr. Dickerson was taken ill; and President Van Buren, aware of the deep interest felt by Congress, and by the nation at large, in the success of this great national enterprise, solicited Mr. Poinsett, at that time Secretary of War, to take charge of its further outfit, and to send it to sea. Mr. Poinsett yielded to Mr. Van Buren's wishes, at a moment when the duties of his own office were both complicated and arduous; and, calling to his aid the experienced and accomplished officers then composing the Navy Board at Washington, set seriously to work to examine the *materiel* of the squadron destined for this important service.

It was at once found, that the vessels selected were unfit for a voyage of exploration and discovery. It was the unanimous opinion of those officers, that the *Macedonian* drew too much water to venture upon an unknown coast, and

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to assist in the survey of bays and harbours; nor was a frigate of her size considered a proper vessel for such an expedition, as her loss would have terminated the voyage, and thus defeated the great object that the government had in view. For these, and other reasons, not necessary to be enumerated here, it was thought expedient to reject this vessel. On repeated trials at sea, the two brigs, which had been constructed for this especial use, were found destitute of the ordinary sailing qualities of our common merchantmen, and they were necessarily turned over for other service. The schooner likewise proved unseaworthy, and the only one of the vessels which could be retained, was the store-ship *Relief*; and it would have been much more advantageous to the service, if she too had been abandoned. Mr. Wilkes says, in page 9 of his Synopsis, — "The *Relief* store-ship, the only one that belonged to the former squadron, in consequence of her dull sailing, was found but ill adapted to coöperate with the rest." It appears, that, after meeting with a series of disasters, and occasioning great delay to the expedition while in the South Pacific, she was ordered home, and has been since converted into a receiving-ship.

The absolute necessity for remodelling the squadron having been acknowledged by the Navy Commissioners, an inquiry was instituted into the means of doing so, and it was soon discovered, that the liberal appropriations made by Congress, for fitting out this expedition, were exhausted. There was no alternative, but to employ vessels already in the service, and to fit them out with the funds at the disposition of the navy department for that purpose. The sloops of war *Vincennes* and *Peacock*, and the brig *Porpoise*, were chosen for this purpose, and two pilot boats, the *Sea Gull* and *Flying Fish*, were added, which, with the *Relief* store-ship, constituted the squadron as it was finally organized.

This selection of vessels being made, that of a commander claimed the attention of the Secretary. He believed that Captain Gregory, from his known character for enterprise and seamanship, and from the qualities which he had exhibited on former occasions, would prove in many respects a proper choice, and the command was accordingly offered to him. At first, he assented, but subsequently declined the honorable and responsible command. Captain Smith, of Massa-

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chusetts, was then applied to, and, after some hesitation, he repaired to Washington to make himself acquainted with the details of the service on which he was about to engage. When these were explained to him, he very frankly said, that there was one portion of the duty expected from the commander of this expedition which he could not perform, nor would he accept the command, unless some scientific officer were assigned to this duty, and appointed to one of the ships. For this object, he designated Lieutenant Wilkes, who was accordingly ordered to Washington from the coast of Georgia, where he was engaged on a survey. On being informed of the wishes of Captain Smith, Lieutenant Wilkes at once availed himself of the privilege granted to officers invited to serve in the squadron, and declined acting in the capacity in which it was proposed to employ him. Captain Smith was requested to designate some other junior officer, equally capable of performing this duty to his satisfaction; but, repeating his wish to be permitted to withdraw from the command, if Mr. Wilkes persisted in his refusal to accompany him as the scientific officer of the squadron, he was allowed to return to his post at Charlestown.

At this period, the idea of appointing Lieutenant Wilkes to the command first suggested itself to the gentleman charged with the superintendence of this expedition. He was confessedly a good seaman and navigator, and was one of the few officers who possessed the requisite scientific attainments to qualify them for carrying out the views of the government in despatching this expedition, and fulfilling the expectations of the scientific world. For it is to be recollected, that the intention of the United States to fit out and despatch an exploring squadron had been long announced; and that both France and England were on the point of sending out squadrons for like purposes, to be commanded by experienced and accomplished officers; and that the honor of the country, as well as the credit of the navy, was deeply concerned in the success of the expedition. Those great maritime powers, in their choice of officers for such commands, had never confined their views to station and rank; but, in every case, they had selected junior officers, of sufficient scientific attainments, and fitting qualifications. Captain Cook was not even a commissioned officer. He was master on board a man-of-war, and received a commission

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of lieutenant, to enable him to command the other officers placed under him. There were abundant precedents to justify the appointment of a junior officer to this service; and the Secretary of the Navy exhibited a letter, which he had received from our own Bowditch, in which that distinguished man bore ample testimony to the capacity and scientific attainments of Mr. Wilkes. It was not until after his appointment had been sanctioned by the President, that any one of the older officers offered their services to command the exploring squadron. Five post-captains had been solicited to accept the command, and had either resigned after assuming it for a short period, or had declined it altogether; and no one had volunteered until the squadron was finally organized under the command of Lieutenant Wilkes, when Captain Kennon and Commander Aulick offered their services. Mr. Wilkes selected Lieutenant Hudson as his second; but that officer refused to serve under a lieutenant lower on the list than himself. This difficulty was at length overcome by the expedition being divested of all military character by a general order issued through the navy department, and by the judicious advice of some of the older officers.

These preliminaries being settled, the completion of the outfit went on with spirit. The scientific corps was reduced from thirty-two to eight persons, and some of their duties were assigned to the senior and junior officers. A mass of cumbersome materials, provided by the corps to preserve their collections, and which would have required an additional vessel of transport, was thrown aside. After Mr. Paulding took charge of the navy department, Mr. Poinsett, having drawn up the general instructions under which the expedition was to proceed, resigned its further management into the hands of that officer. The Secretary of War, however, was responsible for the appointment of the officers, the final organization of the squadron, and, in a great measure, for the results of the expedition. We now proceed to show, from the pamphlet before us, what these results have been, and how we believe they will appear to others, whenever they are published.

The instructions were, in the first place, "To determine the existence of all doubtful islands and shoals in their track, and to discover and accurately fix the position of those

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which lie in or near that pursued by our merchant vessels in that quarter, and which may hitherto have escaped the observation of scientific navigators."

To examine the supposed position of doubtful islands and shoals, the following method was pursued; "When arrived within a short distance of the localities, as they appeared on the charts, and in their latitude, a course was shaped to run over their position, the ships being spread out from three to five miles apart, and with lookouts at the mast-heads. Thus a space of twenty miles in latitude, and from fifty to sixty miles in longitude, was carefully passed over." It was ascertained, that several shoals and rocks, which were marked on the charts, did not exist; while some were found as described, and others, not previously known, were discovered. In this manner, a great service has been rendered to navigation, by sweeping imaginary dangers from the path of the mariner, and pointing out such as are real.

In pursuance of the latter portion of the instructions, the *Antarctic Continent*, from 160° to 97° east longitude, has been discovered; and, notwithstanding the singular efforts, that have been made to deprive our navy and country of the honor of this discovery, we have no doubt, that, when all the facts, which we have examined, come to be spread before the public, every impartial observer will accord the priority of this discovery to our squadron. Several small islands and dangerous reefs were discovered; and, among the former, one by the commander of the Peacock, where the natives had never seen any white men before. "The explorations of the squadron," says Mr. Wilkes, "must prove of great value to the whalers and their interests, not only in diminishing the dangers which beset their paths, by furnishing charts and sailing directions, but in opening new grounds for their fisheries, and affording the necessary information respecting places where they can obtain refreshments and supplies, and making arrangements at the different groups for affording them protection."

The hydrographic part of the results of this voyage will be full of interest and instruction. One hundred and eighty charts are now ready for the engraver, and Mr. Wilkes thinks there will probably be as many more, when the surveys are plotted of all the islands, harbours, shoals, and reefs, that have been examined. Sailing directions are to

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accompany these charts, with views of all the headlands, entrances to harbours, &c. These are, for the most part, new; for the examinations and surveys were confined to new ground, "unless there was reason to doubt the correctness of previous surveys."

In further pursuance of instructions, the coast of California and the Northwest Coast were fully examined, and observations made within our own territory (Oregon), which the Secretary of the Navy declared to be an equivalent for all the expense incurred by the expedition. The Sooloo Sea was passed through, "in order (say the instructions) to determine, if there is a safe route through it, which will shorten the passage of our vessels, during the contrary monsoons, to and from China." Lieutenant Wilkes says;

"Perhaps no portion of the route passed over in the cruise was found so erroneously laid down in the charts as this. More discoveries and corrections have been made in this locality than in any other portion of our work of equal extent. The entrance of the Sooloo Sea, south of the Island of Mindoro, which I have called the Straits of Mindoro, was very inaccurately laid down; many islands were omitted entirely, and others badly placed with their attendant shoals. This entrance was examined and surveyed, and the route found to be safe and practicable with ordinary care. Thence we proceeded down the coast of Panay to the Straits of Basilan; thence to the Island of Sooloo, and anchored in the Soong Roads, where we had communication with the Sultan of Sooloo, and received from him a stipulation in writing, to protect the lives and property of our countrymen in case of shipwreck, and the terms on which he would receive our vessels and their cargoes. Many corrections were made in the charts of this group. From Sooloo, we passed to the western entrance of this sea. The Strait of Balabac was examined, and a chart made of its entrance, which will much facilitate our navigation to China and the Philippine Islands during the contrary monsoon, instead of passing through the Palawan passage, at all times a dangerous one. Sailing directions have been prepared for this route."

Data for geographical maps of the Islands have been obtained, and many valuable maps will be among the results of this expedition. We have seen those which are in course of preparation, and can bear testimony to the excellence of their execution. "There are over two thousand sheets of drawings, paintings, and sketches, embracing the various de-

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partments of natural history, and including portraits and costumes." These drawings, also, we have examined with great pleasure, and find that they are executed in a manner highly creditable to the artists, Messrs. Drayton and Agate.

Although the primary object of the expedition was considered to be the promotion of the great interests of navigation and commerce, still, the officers were instructed to profit by all occasions to extend the boundaries of science, and to acquire useful information, and, for that purpose several scientific gentlemen accompanied the expedition, to make observations in the departments of Philology, Zoölogy, Geology, and Botany; while those of Astronomy, Hydrography, Geography, the science of Terrestrial Magnetism, Meteorology, and Physics, were confided to the commander, and the other officers of the navy. The results will show that this distribution of duties was judicious, and fully justify the liberal policy of the government in fitting out this expedition.

Mr. Wilkes, in his "Synopsis," says; "In Botany, ten thousand species have been obtained, and from three to five specimens of each brought home in a dried state." One hundred specimens of living plants have been brought home in cases. Sections of stems and specimens of wood have been collected and preserved; and the National Institute, ever since its first organization, has been distributing the seeds of flowers, trees, and vegetables, sent home at different times by the gentlemen engaged in the expedition. Geographical Botany, both Terrestrial and Marine, has been particularly attended to, and the observations afford most interesting results relative to the distribution of plants over the globe. A beautiful collection of drawings in the botanical department has been made by Mr. Agate. For the truth of these statements, we can vouch from personal inspection.

In the Geological and Mineralogical departments, much industry and research have been shown. In an examination of various countries visited, drawings have been made of all remarkable geological phenomena, and specimens of minerals and fossils obtained. These are deposited in the Museum of the Institute, and are extremely interesting and valuable. About eleven hundred species of Crustacea have been figured; many of them are microscopic, and rarely

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has the zoölogist had such an opportunity to delineate them from life. Results of the highest interest may be expected from the extensive field opened to the labors of the philologist; and some important facts have been ascertained relative to the physical history of man, which could only have been obtained in the course of such a voyage. The very extensive collections in every department of Natural History, now exhibiting in the halls of the National Institute at Washington, bear abundant testimony to the zeal, industry, and ability of Messrs. Pickering, Peale, Dana, Rich, and Couthoy, naturalists, of Messrs. Drayton and Agate, artists, and of Mr. Brackenridge, horticulturist, of the expedition.

Of the labors of the naval officers, we cannot speak too highly. Mr. Wilkes says; "At all important points of the cruise, an observatory was established, and the longitude determined by culminating stars, in connexion with similar observations at Cambridge (Massachusetts) University, by Mr. Bond, and at Washington, by Lieutenant Gillis." This was done by order, and at the expense, of government. Every opportunity was taken to determine the true position of islands, reefs, &c., by observations made on shore. Of their labors in Hydrography, we have already spoken; they were extensive, and the constant aim appears to have been to obtain useful results.

In Magnetism, observations were made at fifty-seven stations, for dip and intensity; and, at every point where the vessels remained a sufficient time, for diurnal variation. The dip was frequently observed at sea, due care being taken during the observations, that the ship's head should be turned in the proper direction. The observations for intensity failed for want of a proper instrument, that of Fox. Observations for variation were taken twice a day, and, at all the islands that afforded suitable positions for results in this department, the instruments were carried on shore, and observations made for dip and intensity.

"For the determination of the Southern Magnetic Pole, observations were made from 35° easterly variation to 59° westerly, between the longitudes of 97° and 165° east, nearly on the same parallel of latitude, which will give numerous convergent lines through that space for its determination. Our greatest dip was 87° 30′. The summit of Mouna Roa, thirteen thousand four

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hundred feet above the level of the sea, was among the magnetic stations. The pendulums were swung at six stations, one of them at the summit of Mouna Roa, and another at its base.

"Full meteorological journals were kept during the whole cruise. When in port, thermometers were sunk, and the temperature of springs, wells, and caves, taken for the mean temperature of the climate. The epochs for the periodical meteors in August and November were attentively watched, in each quarter of the heavens, by four observers at a time. Many observations were made on the Zodiacal Lights; and the Aurora Australis was frequently observed.

"Numerous experiments were made to get some idea of the depth to which the solar light penetrates the ocean. Tidal observations were made, and much interesting information obtained relative to the sudden flux and reflux of the sea among the South-Sea Islands.

"The temperature of the ocean, at various depths, was frequently ascertained; and daily experiments made, during the voyage home from the East Indies, at one hundred fathoms, gave some interesting results. Under the line, a stratum of water was passed over, twenty-three degrees colder than at the surface, and ten degrees colder than at the north or south of it, of about two hundred miles in width; giving rise to the belief, that there exists a *submarine* river flowing down the coasts of Europe and Africa, and obeying the same laws that govern the atmospheric currents.

"Refractions, halos, and parhelia were noted, together with the circumstances of their appearance, including the state of the barometer, thermometer, and hygrometer, and sketches were made.

"The limits of the trades, the variable and the periodical winds, were carefully looked to, together with their direction and force.

"The currents of the ocean were often tried by the current log, particularly on the several coasts visited. On that of New Holland, a current was perceived, which the temperature will readily point out, between Sydney and Van Diemen's Land. This current runs, at times, with great strength, and, according to the season of the year, is found at different distances from the land."

We have thus sketched, briefly and hastily, some of the most important results of this voyage, obtained by the unceasing diligence and well directed zeal of the commander, officers, and scientific corps of the squadron. It furnishes,

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in our opinion, abundant cause of gratulation and triumph, that, in this attempt, we have accomplished so much for commerce, navigation, and science, and that this first contribution, offered by the government of the United States to the scientific world, has been rendered worthy of a great people.

We regret that there should have been any unnecessary delay in preparing for the press the manuscript notes of the gentlemen concerned in this labor; and still more, that an effort had not been made, at an earlier period, to publish a new chart of the Pacific Ocean, comprehending all the discoveries made by our enterprising navigators. We hope this will be shortly done.

As we desire to keep clear of politics, and to avoid even the appearance of criticising the measures of the existing government, we will not enter upon the subject of the court-martials, which followed the return of the squadron; but content ourselves with the remark, that the executive officers of the government at Washington ought to consider themselves in the light of grand-jurors, bound to examine into the character of the charges preferred against an officer, and the nature of the evidence; and not to order a court, in order merely to gratify the resentment of the accuser, although there may be but little apparent cause for a formal investigation. While on this subject, we must be allowed to mention another grievous abuse, into which the navy department has fallen. We mean the appointment of able and distinguished lawyers to be judge-advocates; thus compelling the accused, whatever may be his circumstances, to employ the best counsel to be had in the place where the trial is held, or to obtain legal aid from other cities, at still greater expense. This proceeding usually creates a struggle between two members of the bar, thereby enlisting feelings which too often convert the judge-advocate into the prosecuting attorney. If this practice be continued, the discipline of the navy will be destroyed. If a superior officer is liable to be tried on frivolous charges brought against him by a junior, and exposed to ruinous expenses, whatever may be the result of the trial, the discipline of the service will be made to yield to the dread of such an unequal measure of justice, and the gravest faults will remain unrebuked.

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ART. II. — *Romans de* PAUL DE KOCK. — 1. *Sœur Anne.* 4 vols. — 2. *Le Jeune Homme Charmant.* 4 vols. — 3. *La Jolie Fille du Faubourg.* 4 vols. — 4. *Ni Jamais ni Toujours.* 4 vols. — 5. *Les Mœurs Parisiennes.* 2 vols. — 6. *Mon Voisin Raymond.* Paris. Gustave Barba, Éditeur. 1835 – 1842.

WHEN Sir James Mackintosh, in India, wiled away some of the tedious hours of exile by perusing novels and romances, of which few were good, and many indifferent, he called himself to account for such an employment of time, and, in a rather elaborate essay, endeavoured to prove that this class of works really merited the attention and serious study of the philosopher and the moralist. As these seductive books have relieved a portion of our own wakeful nights, and even pushed aside some of the grave labors of the day, we are quite willing to justify ourselves by the weight of his authority, and to seek for shelter and encouragement in his ingenious reasonings. He insists chiefly on the effect produced upon the character by contemplating the models of ideal excellence which are held up in fictitious composition, and on the wider field which the reader gains for the exercise of sympathy and the benevolent affections. We can imitate only those virtues with which we are acquainted ; we can pity only the distresses which come within the sphere of our observation. Actual experience does not always furnish a sufficient number of trying occasions, on which the mind may be purified and exalted by pity, wonder, or admiration, may be nerved for future struggles, and strengthened in virtuous resolves. The effect of scenes in fiction is fainter, it is true ; but the lesson may be repeated as often as we please ; and, at any rate, it is so much added to the school of real occurrences. Opportunities for the exercise of the heroic virtues are certainly rare ; but it is an important point in moral culture, to provide for the growth of heroic sentiments ; and here the poet and the novelist are often the most successful teachers.

It may at first appear, that these remarks are not very applicable to the novels of the present day, in very few of which do we find any exhibition of estimable characters, or of noble principles of conduct. The writers of them care

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nothing about the moral effect produced, and aim only at creating a momentary interest in their fictitious scenes. Still, there is an undoubted tendency in imaginative writing to exalt the motives, and ennoble the characters, which are intended to engage the sympathy of the reader, much above the standard of real life. In all but the most licentious and degraded of these publications, meanness, duplicity, and crime are reprobated, at least, to a certain extent, and the author pays homage — involuntary, it may be, in some cases — to purity and virtue. He may act under constraint in this respect, for he knows that men are constituted moral beings, and, though each individual may be indulgent enough to his own failings and vices, he is quick to perceive, and eager to censure the moral obliquity of another. Good and evil qualities are blended in the personages who come upon the stage; but the audience discriminate, unconsciously, perhaps, but with unerring tact, between those which are presented for regard and imitation, and those which are designed to be exposed to blame or contempt. Even of such an extreme case as Tom Jones, Mackintosh observes, that "the same book inspires the greatest abhorrence of the duplicity of Blifil, and of the hypocrisy of Thwackum and Square; and Jones himself is interesting by his frankness, spirit, kindness, and fidelity, — all virtues of the first class." There is hardly any novel that does not incline to praise of romantic generosity, magnanimity, faithfulness, and refinement in love. The inventive faculty is prone to constant exaggeration. Imaginary pictures of virtue and vice are more highly colored, and presented with greater effect, than any exhibitions of them in real life; and the observer's admiration of the one, and disposition to censure the other, are proportionally increased. Hence, we may perceive some reason for the opinion which is attributed to Turgot by his biographer; "He regarded romances as books of morals, and he even said, that in them alone had he found any true morality."

For the purposes of this discussion, it has been acutely remarked, history and novels are on an equal footing. The moral influence of a story does not at all depend upon the question, whether it is true. It must be probable, indeed, or it will produce but little effect as an illustration; but, in all cases, the principle that is illustrated remains the same.

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Noble and patriotic feelings are prompted by the consideration of some incidents, recorded by Livy, in the early history of Rome. Some inquirers have satisfied themselves, that this history is a mere collection of poetical legends and fables, and deserves little or no confidence. This discovery has weakened the force, but it has not altered the character, of the lesson which those reputed occurrences teach. Firmness and patriotism are still inculcated by the story of the elder Brutus, though it may be that such a personage never lived.

These views of the advantages of a familiarity with works of fiction, which are in substance those of Mackintosh, may be very philosophical, and very fine; but they have much the air of an apology for a doubtful good, and they leave out of view the principal benefit, as it appears to us, to be derived from the perusal of such books. We regard novels as vehicles of instruction, — as furnishing the means of enlarging our experience, — as increasing our knowledge of men and things. This effect is not the chief object of the writer, we admit; but he aims at it as subsidiary to his main purpose, and it is essential to his success. He designs to amuse the reader by a fanciful picture, the materials of which are drawn from real life. His characters are imaginary beings, but they are still human. They are types of a particular class of our species; they are representations of our common nature, placed in peculiar circumstances, and acting under special influences, but few of which, probably, have ever fallen under our actual observation. They serve, therefore, to increase our knowledge of that nature. They are *studies*, in the artist's sense of that term, — not a particular portrait drawn from life, but a combination of the most familiar and striking traits that characterize a whole class, and forming, therefore, a better representation of that class than any faithful picture of an individual. We might say, if the paradox were not rather bold, that they are more true than the reality. Nature, in the exhaustless variety of her moods, never creates an accurate specimen of a whole species. In each particular case, the common traits are always blended with one or more peculiarities that distinguish the individual. It is the province of art to distinguish and remove these special features, and only by the proper execution of this design is it distinguished from servile imitation. The sculp-

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tor, the painter, the poet, and the novelist, aim to set forth the ideal model, which seems to be the constant object of Nature's endeavour, although she always strikes a little on one side.

It is true, that this is only the general idea of imaginary composition, and an idea which, in most cases, is very ill carried out. But it should be remembered, that works of art are studies for the beholder as much as for the artist. The effort to detect the fault is quite as instructive, though not so delightful, as the contemplation of the perfect work. And it is wonderful with what facility the mind engages in this critical task, though it may not be able so readily to give an account of its own operations. A character or a scene in a novel is perceived, or rather it is felt, to be out of keeping; the former is made to act from insufficient or unnatural motives, the latter is brought about in an improbable way. The reader *feels* the defect, we say, because, the naturalness of the whole work being injured, he receives less pleasure from the perusal. But only the acute and sagacious mind, or the practised observer, can tell precisely where the fault lies; and the effort to distinguish it is at once the highest pleasure and the sharpest exercise of the faculties of taste. It is more consonant with our present purpose to observe, that the defect in point of naturalness is not at all attributable to the wholly fictitious character of the events described. The reader's pleasure is not diminished by the acknowledged want of reality, but by the accidental want of conformity to the end in view; and this proves, that a reference is made throughout to a standard which is ideal, though it is also fixed and positive. The novelist aims at truth quite as much as the historian; but, in the former case, the truth depends on conformity with the general principles of nature; in the latter, on the faithful statement of particular facts. The writer of history brings together individual instances; the writer of fiction sums up the results.

Every student of facts, whether occupied with the chronicles of former ages, or with travellers' accounts of distant climes, is constantly weaving romances in his own brain, — unconsciously, perhaps, and, in a greater or less degree, according to the liveliness of his imagination; but in a way that is essential for the attainment of his chief purpose, which is, to gain as perfect a knowledge as is possible of the

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truth. The page before him suggests as much as it actually tells. His fancy clothes the dry bones of history with substantial flesh and blood. The principal personages, whom the annalist describes almost as unconscious agents in a succession of events, as mere abstractions, are endowed by the reader with human passions and wants ; they are imagined by him in their leisure hours, in the midst of their companions, acting with the manners, and surrounded with the circumstances of the age. Different accounts are brought together ; various incidents and traits of character are recollected ; the gaps left by the imperfect chronicles are filled up in a manner consonant with the parts which are fully known ; and the result is a picture of some vividness and completeness, of which not more than half, perhaps, is authentic, in the strict sense of the term ; but, as a whole, it is far more correct and truthful than the dim and imperfect outline which is sketched by the historian. To an imaginative mind of sufficient compass and power, a few meagre events chronicled of an individual are like a few fossil bones in the hands of one skilled in comparative anatomy. They afford hints sufficient for the reconstruction of the whole creature ; and that not by a mere effort of fancy, but by close examination and sure reasoning from invariable correspondences and relations. The animal, says Cuvier, to the skeleton of which these bones belong, must have had such a form, such dimensions, and such habits ; its species is now extinct. The conclusion is wonderful, considering the narrowness of the *data* on which it rests. But it is not more strange than the reconstruction of historical characters by the poet, the dramatist, and the novelist.

Take Shakspeare's conception of Cleopatra, for instance, and consider how few materials are recorded by the writers of her times, from which we can judge of her character, and how perfectly they correspond to this gorgeous and animated portrait. History tells us only, that she was remarkable for her beauty and personal accomplishments ; that Julius Cæsar was subdued by her charms ; that she showed cowardice at the battle of Actium ; that Mark Antony forfeited half of the world for her sake ; and that she finally killed herself in order to avoid being led as a prisoner to grace the triumph of Augustus. The poet calls up from the shades the spirit who was capable of such things, and on

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his immortal page she lives again, as fully known, as distinctly conceived, as if the reader had been an inmate of her palace through the whole of her reign. She actually moves before us, — this "rare Egyptian," the "serpent of old Nile," capricious, petulant, proud, fond, bewitching, the very creature born to dazzle, perplex, and fascinate all beholders, to lead the conquerors of the world in chains. It is no ideal portrait, no fancy sketch. Only such a being could have played the part attributed by history to the daughter of Ptolemy, and the paramour of Antony. We agree entirely with Mrs. Jameson, who has "not the slightest doubt, that Shakspeare's Cleopatra is the real historical Cleopatra, individualized and placed before us."

The exercise of imagination is, therefore, quite as necessary as judgment, care, and industry in collecting authorities and weighing testimonies, before we can arrive at complete historical truth. The imaginative writer plays a part which is supplementary to that of the historian, and in nowise inferior to it in importance. Who can doubt, that "good Queen Bess" is more fully, more vividly — ay, more truly — represented in "Kenilworth," than in all the volumes of Hume and Lingard, or in the more ponderous tomes which contain the state papers of her reign? "The Fortunes of Nigel" have performed the same service for James the First, and readers are now familiar with every lineament of the royal pedant, the Solomon of England. Observe, also, that the merits of the novelist, in the communication of truth, are by no means limited to the fuller delineation of character. All the circumstances of past times, the manners, the habits, the modes of thought, the costume, the situation of the people, are described by him from the same materials, and with equal and important additions, made out in the same way, from the study of corresponding relations. Pure fiction, it is true, having no regard to such important purposes, is mingled by the author with what may be called the more authentic stuff, out of which he weaves his gay and party-colored fabric. But this practice only makes the lesson more pleasing, more impressive, and more easy to be remembered.

The preceding remarks apply only to historical fictions, which we have taken as the first instances wherewith to illustrate our position, only because their claims to consideration

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and regard are more striking and more easily comprehended than those of romances of a different class. But the merits which we have now to consider are not the less real and positive, though they relate to a different study. Pure fiction is instructive, as it enlarges our knowledge of human nature, by exhibiting wider modifications of character, greater strife of passion, and changes effected by more sudden and striking alternations of fortune, than usually come under our observation in real life. Fortunately for our happiness, the great exigencies, which alone can develope the whole power of intellect, and strength of purpose and of action, that are lodged in man, are of rare occurrence. A knowledge of their effects would not be very useful to an individual, considered merely as a warning, or a preparation against their possible recurrence in his own case. The danger is too remote and uncertain; there is no necessity of guarding against it by special precautions. But the lesson which is taught by such stories has a wider scope, and is useful for more general purposes. Nothing is frivolous or unimportant which increases our acquaintance with the human heart, and shows how much man is capable of doing and suffering, when occasion calls. Here, again, the importance of the monition is not affected by the real or fictitious character of the events by which it is illustrated. The majesty of virtue is exhibited as impressively by Clarissa in the power of Lovelace, as by Socrates when drinking the hemlock, or Cato when directing his little senate at Utica. Isabella, pleading with Angelo for the life of her brother, teaches mercy and magnanimity as strongly as Volumnia entreating Coriolanus at the gates of Rome. And the latter story would lose nothing of its striking and solemn import, though a hundred Niebuhrs should prove it to be fabulous.

But the moral uses of fiction are so nobly displayed by Bacon, when treating of the nature and province of poetry, that we must borrow some of his weighty and magnificent sentences, though the passage is rather hackneyed as a quotation.

"The use of this feigned history hath been to give some shadow of satisfaction to the mind of man in those points wherein the nature of things doth deny it, the world being in proportion inferior to the soul; by reason whereof there is, agreeable to the spirit of man, a more ample greatness, a more exact good-

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ness, and a more absolute variety, than can be found in the nature of things. Therefore, because the acts or events of trûe history have not that magnitude which satisfieth the mind of man, poesy feigneth acts and events greater and more heroical; because true history propoundeth the successes and issues of actions not so agreeable to the merits of virtue and vice, therefore poesy feigns them more just in retribution, and more according to revealed providence; because true history representeth actions and events more ordinary, and less interchanged, therefore poesy endueth them with more rareness, and more unexpected and alternative variations; so, as it appeareth, poesy serveth and conferreth to magnanimity, morality, and to delectation. And, therefore, it was ever thought to have some participation of divineness, because it doth raise and erect the mind, by submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind; whereas reason doth buckle and bow the mind unto the nature of things."—*Advancement of Learning*, pp. 142, 143.

After listening to the music of such words, it seems like a harsh and dissonant transition, to descend to the inferior purposes which are answered by fictitious compositions. Yet, in striving to gain a complete view of the subject, we ought not to lose sight of these minor utilities, for they constitute nearly the only claim to respect which is offered by the popular novels of the day. These profess to be pictures of contemporary manners and real life, such as every one is able to observe in some degree, though he naturally seeks to increase his knowledge of them in every possible way. Putting aside the violently sentimental specimens of this class, and some fantastic works which display nothing but an ill-regulated imagination, it is safe to say, that much profit and delight may be gained from these productions. They represent men and manners with various degrees of success, and sometimes, it must be confessed, with no success at all. But even in the latter case we believe that they impose on nobody. The false pictures and caricatures, which they offer, are soon detected and rated at their true value. And the poorest of their species usually have some touch of nature, some spice of lively incident or faithful representation, which kindles sympathy, or leads to reflection. They teach us to sum up our own observations of life, in order to test the fidelity of a sketch by another hand. They enlarge the sphere of these observations, by directing our attention to points which might otherwise remain unnoticed. They

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chronicle, for the benefit of posterity, certain characters, customs, and modes of thought, which are indigenous in this age, though they do not excite remark, because they are obvious, and frequently seen. Such works, therefore, are like copper coins, of trifling value when first issued, but of some convenience as small change, and destined to acquire much interest and importance in future times, as monuments of the age when they were struck.

The class of domestic novels, describing minutely and faithfully the interior of households in our own times, without aspiring to touch the higher chords of passion and sentiment, deserves special and honorable notice. Women have labored most successfully in this department, as might be expected from their finer tact, and power of keen and delicate observation. The moral which they teach, when not brought forward too obtrusively, is effective, and admits of a wide application. Founded on common events, it extends over a multitude of cases. Miss Austin's novels, for instance, are like Flemish paintings, in the curious fidelity with which scenes from real life are sketched, and like the admirable productions of Hogarth, in their ethical meaning and tendency. There is a singular charm in these descriptions of ordinary scenes and characters, which are found so dull and wearisome when the reality comes in our way, though the fictitious sketch is so delightful. Mr. Collins, Mrs. Norris, or Miss Steele, would be intolerable, if we were doomed to associate with them in actual life. Why do they become agreeable and interesting, when seen in the framework of fiction? The skill with which they are painted, the excellence of the imitation, does not wholly explain the problem; for characters of greater worth may be delineated with equal power, but without producing so great an effect. A landscape painter cannot render a flat and unmeaning prospect as pleasing as one which combines many points of striking scenery, though the imitation may be equally exact, the drawing and coloring equally faithful, in both cases. His success depends nearly as much on the choice of a subject, as in the art with which it is represented. The truth seems to be, that the writer of fiction carries the reader along with him by a fuller exhibition of motives and actions, and a deeper insight into character, than it is possible to obtain in real life. In ordinary cases, we can learn but half of the story from

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actual observation ; we see but one aspect of the persons with whom we are thrown in contact. The novelist tells the whole. He introduces us behind the scenes, shows the means by which the effects are produced, and explains all the secrets of the machinery. We gain a full knowledge of the character without the labor of studying it, and without the tedious necessity of waiting for events by which it may be developed. In the common intercourse of life, we frequently meet with persons whose motives and proceedings are a riddle ; we are perplexed with events, the origin and nature of which cannot be perceived. The novelist supplies a key to the enigma, and his tale becomes interesting from its completeness. On the other hand, he who paints a landscape represents nothing which is not open to common observation. He must even confine himself to the most striking points of the scenery ; and, if there is nothing agreeable in the original, we shall find no pleasure in the imitation.

We have said nothing, thus far, of the many and grave faults which are chargeable upon numerous works of fiction, or of the pernicious consequences of indulging the habit of reading them to too great an extent, because these points are sufficiently obvious, and it was our object to show, that, in spite of these acknowledged drawbacks, there is much good produced by this class of compositions, and this good ought to be clearly perceived and fairly weighed before a sweeping verdict of condemnation is recorded against them. It requires no great penetration, nor any nice sense of morality, to perceive that the novels of Fielding and Smollet abound with coarse and licentious pictures ; that incorrect views of life are presented, and false sentiments of honor and pernicious principles of conduct recommended, in many of the popular romances of the day. Let these evils be duly considered, and proper caution be exercised in selecting the books designed to be put into the hands of those whose tender age or sex should be kept free even from the observation of impurity and sin, and, so far as may be, from the knowledge that such things exist. A broader field of study and recreation may be safely opened to people of mature minds and confirmed principles, acting either as lovers of polite literature, as students of human nature, or as inquirers after truth.

That it is not our intention to keep out of view the ob-

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jectionable stuff, of which so many popular fictions are composed, is sufficiently apparent from the character of the books which we now proceed to notice. Few authors of his class offer so many points for just reprehension as Paul de Kock; yet there are few whom it is so difficult to criticise with severity, on account of the many amiable and pleasant traits by which these faults are relieved. He is a merry rogue, an amusing vagabond, whom we cannot find it in our heart to scourge or to gibbet, though certainly he deserves to be sent to the House of Correction. He is a fellow of keen observation and infinite humor, whose pictures of vulgar manners and low life, always coarse and too often licentious, are still drawn with so much liveliness and truth, and presented with so much ease, gayety, and *nonchalance*, that the sternest reader cannot fail to be amused, and even to acknowledge some obligation to the writer, for imparting information respecting persons and scenes which one would hardly wish to visit and observe for himself. No sketches by foreign tourists, nor statistical details, nor formal reports to legislatures and benevolent societies, can give such vivid and correct notions respecting the situation, character, habits, and modes of thought of the middling and lower classes of the French people, as are presented in the pages of this prolific novelist.

The titles which we have placed at the head of this article designate but a small portion of his published writings. We have somewhere seen a list, that comprises no less than a hundred and twenty volumes of his novels, and several have been published since the date of that enumeration. A few of them are elaborately written, aiming to paint a variety of characters and a complexity of events, which should have the rich and diversified interest of regular romance. But such are not the most successful efforts of the author's talent, who rather appears in these stories to be feeling his way, and not to have attained his natural sphere of action. Most of his novels are mere sketches of contemporary manners, put together on a slight framework of incident, which can hardly be called a plot. Some volumes contain only unconnected pieces, probably made up from contributions to magazines and other periodicals, in which the farcical humor of the writer displays itself even to greater advantage than in the longer narrations. A few of these are in the form of

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dialogues, and have been represented at the theatres, though not with such success as might be expected from the great popularity of the novelist.

How acceptable his writings are to the great body of his countrymen appears from the number of editions through which they have passed. Well thumbed copies of his novels may be found in nearly every shop, garret, and servant's lodge in Paris ; and if they are more rarely seen in drawing-rooms and gentlemen's libraries, the reason is not that fashionable and educated people have no relish for them, but that they prefer to put them in a corner, and read them in private. One great cause of this popularity is the perfect adaptation of the books to the people and the times. They are eminently national, and even local, in character ; much of the humor and satire, many of the scenes and personages described, being intelligible only to the Parisians. The style, also, is so perfectly French, abounding in modern idioms and conversational phraseology, that it is difficult to gain any idea of the writer's peculiarities through a translation. His finer qualities are quite too volatile to be transmuted ; they evaporate, in the process of change into another language. His novels form a mirror, in which nearly all classes of people in the gay metropolis may behold themselves, with just enough of defect in the glass to impart a comical twist or perversion to the reflected visage. A stranger, commonly, would see nothing in it but a grimacing and unnatural caricature.

It would be too much honor to Paul de Kock, to style him the "Boz" of the French capital. He has none of the fine humanity and broad sympathies of the English novelist, and but little of his dramatic art and moving pathos. But he possesses equal humor, equal skill in delineating all the aspects of a great city and the humbler households in it, and his sketches are marred by a similar inclination for broad caricature. The shop-keepers, laborers, and domestics in a great metropolis, — the "cockneys," if they may be called so, of Paris, — with their opinions, amusements, and habits, are hit off with as much spirit and fidelity by the Frenchman, as Dickens shows in describing their brethren in London. But Dickens is the poet of these people, while Paul de Kock is only their good-natured and laughing biographer. The former paints the sufferings and pleads the

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cause of the indigent classes, even while he is amused with their ignorance, eccentricities, and follies. The latter contents himself with drawing ludicrous pictures of their sports and serious avocations, and of the half comical, half philosophical spirit in which they meet a change of fortune. His sketch has naturally a more smiling air, for a Frenchman bears misfortune and want with far more composure and good-humor than his surly brother across the Channel; and the patience with which he endures privation and hardship in his own case, makes him regard with a more careless eye the woes of another. We do not mean, that our author is never serious, or that he has no power over the sacred source of tears. There are passages in his tales which are written with great feeling, and which call out the sympathies of the reader, at times, to a painful degree. But they are feeble in comparison with the touching pictures of Boz, which sometimes harrow the feelings as much as the sublime spectacle of Lear complaining to the tempests. Only in the lighter sketches and sportive moods of talent can any real parallel be instituted between the two writers.

We have not a word to say in defence of the coarseness and indelicacy with which the pages of this French son of Momus are loaded. It is no palliation to observe, that these features really belong to his subject, that vulgarity and licentiousness are stamped on the manners of so large a portion of the French populace, that no representation of them can be complete or accurate which leaves such features entirely out of view. The writer is to blame for an improper selection of materials, or, at any rate, for not making such use of them as may sufficiently indicate the facts in question, without trespassing on the delicacies of speech, or holding up immoral or corrupting pictures. It is one great merit of Dickens as a novelist, while handling similar subjects, and constantly treading on the very verge of that which would excite disgust, that he never steps over the line, nor gives offence by word, allusion, or description, to the most scrupulous delicacy. How much praise is due to him in this respect, especially when compared with Fielding, and Smollet, and some other writers of fiction very popular with a former generation, whose novels, admirable for the most part as works of art, and for wit, humor, and faithful delineations of manners, are now rightly consigned to obliv-

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ion, because there is pollution in every page! Our fathers read these books, and praised them, but men at the present day are ashamed to be seen with a copy in their hands. Such a character as Fielding's "Squire Western" has been defended, we know, on the ground, that it is a faithful portraiture of an English fox-hunting squire in George the Second's time. It may be so, though we question whether such a being ever had a daughter like Sophia Western. But what then? The race has probably died out, and would have left no memorial behind them, if a coarse but able writer had not chronicled one to excite the disgust of posterity.

Paul de Kock bears a strong family resemblance to Fielding and Smollet, and, therefore, the present popularity of his stories shows, that the bulk of the French people, in respect to morality and true refinement, are more than half a century behind the English. Not that we would for a moment compare him with the former novelist in the artistlike construction of a plot, or the skilful development of a character. His more natural prototype, in these respects, is Smollet, whom he equals also in heartiness and coarse humor, and in raciness, though not in vigor, of style. The English reader, who is acquainted with "Roderick Random," and "Humphrey Clinker," has, perhaps, as just an idea of our lively Frenchman as it is desirable to obtain. He is a more fertile and careless writer than the Englishman, being probably incited by the applause and support of a larger circle of readers. His subject, also, is a more copious one, as Paris draws together a greater collection of originals, and the national character affords a wider range of amusing peculiarities than can be found on British soil.

Among a population like that of Paris, such books as these cannot do so much harm as in other communities. The causes, which produce the objectionable qualities in the light literature of the day, also deprive them of a part of their power to create mischief or offence. Gallantry and intrigue, there, seem to form in part the common business of life; and a different law, which to foreigners appears much like no law at all, regulates the proprieties of speech and behaviour. People can hardly be injured by a representation in fiction of what is constantly before their eyes in reality. Yet it is evident, that we are even more shocked and

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disgusted by a powerful exhibition in writing of the viler qualities of men and society than by the observation of these very qualities in real life, when the misfortune of our situation brings them constantly before us. What is actual appears to exist from necessary causes, or, at least, it is beyond our power to remedy; and we mourn, and pass it by. But the portraiture of it in imaginative writing seems like a gratuitous revival or multiplication of the evil, and our indignant condemnation falls alike on the base spirits which furnish the poison, and the corrupted appetites which are fed by it. It is a noble characteristic of the taste and conscience of man, that they require in art a closer adherence to the principles of the beautiful, the just, and the right, than we can reasonably expect to be exemplified in nature and life. The *beau-idéal* is not found in the world; poetical justice is confessedly unreal, — it does not follow merit and demerit in this stage of existence. But the restraint of circumstances is not felt in the province of invention, and, where man is the creator, he becomes responsible for the whole work. He is bound to "submit the shows of things to the desires of the mind." If he cannot embody in his work that perfect beauty and absolute right, of which we dream, and to which we are constantly reaching forward, he is under an obligation, at least, to remove from it every thing that is base, deformed, ignoble, or impure.

We have already hinted, that it is difficult to give a correct notion of the writings of our author, because a meagre plot is hardly susceptible of analysis, the humor of the allusions and descriptions is often local in its effect, and many of his better qualities are so completely French, that it is impossible to represent them in another language. "*Sœur Anne*" is one of the more finished and least objectionable of his novels, and a few of the scenes are written with much feeling and pathos. M. de Montreville, a gentleman of rank and wealth at Paris, has one son, Frederick, a gentle and susceptible youth, whom he resolves to send away to travel for a time, that he may acquire some knowledge of the world, and forget an unfortunate attachment that he had formed at home. A travelling tutor is needed; and the father selects M. Ménard for this purpose, a foolish pedant, much attached to the pleasures of the table, and a devoted admirer of people of high birth. But the son prefers a more lively companion for

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the journey, and finds one in M. Dubourg, a careless spendthrift, who shows his wit in duping others, and often becoming a greater dupe himself. The stratagems and mishaps of this pleasant rogue, his success in overreaching the simple tutor, and his blunders, which involve the whole party in difficulties, are narrated with great spirit and humor, and agreeably diversify the graver incidents of the expedition. The father reasonably objects to such a person as a companion for his son, and Frederick is obliged to leave Paris attended only by Ménard, who is not acquainted with Dubourg. The latter hurries after them in a postchaise, in which he contrives to run against their carriage and upset them, and then politely offers them a seat in his own vehicle. Feigning to be a stranger to Frederick, he introduces himself as the Baron Potoski, a Polish palatine of immense wealth, and the simple tutor at once falls into the trap, treats the supposed nobleman with the utmost deference, and swallows, with unhesitating faith, all the incredible lies which Dubourg utters respecting his paternal estates and diplomatic mission. Some extravagantly ludicrous scenes take place at the miserable inn, where they pass the first night, which complete the deception on poor Ménard, who then eagerly ratifies an arrangement with the false baron, engaging him to accept a seat in Frederick's carriage, and become their companion for the rest of the journey. Only one difficulty remains, as the cautious parent had made Ménard the bearer of the purse, which was to defray the expenses of the whole party. But Dubourg plays upon the poor tutor's fears of highwaymen, till the frightened pedant at last consigns the funds to his keeping.

The party now proceed in great state, as the baron suits their expenses to his supposed rank, and the tutor has no objection to the magnificent dinners and suppers which are provided for them at the inns. When they arrive at Lyons, it soon appears how worthy the purse-bearer is of his trust, for he falls into the company of greater sharpers than himself, and is cheated out of every *sou*. After waiting till Frederick receives another remittance from his father, the three proceed to Grenoble, and at a village near that city, while watching the festivities of the peasants, Frederick becomes acquainted with the heroine of the tale.

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"The travellers descended a little hill, and soon came to a valley enclosed by fir-trees and oaks. There were collected the inhabitants of a pretty village, which was just in sight at the end of the valley. It was a holyday, and the peasants were celebrating it by a dance in the open air. A pipe and tabor formed their whole orchestra, but these were quite enough to keep their feet in motion. Joy shone in every face. The peasant girls were arrayed in their smartest dresses; and the peculiar costume of this part of the country usually renders them sufficiently attractive. The elders were seated a little way off, chatting over their cups, while their children danced before them.

"Ménard seated himself at a table, and called for refreshments; Dubourg roamed about among the dancers, whispering soft words to the prettiest girls; and Frederick, after gazing at the scene for a while, sauntered away, and followed the course of a brook, which ran through a double row of willows, near the entrance of a thick wood. Already the sound of the pipe was heard but faintly in the distance, and he was about to turn back towards his companions, when he perceived, a little way off, a young girl seated beside the brook, her eyes turned towards the valley with an air of enchanting softness, and smiling at the dance which she watched from afar, though through the smile could be seen an expression of sadness, which appeared habitual to her.

"She seemed to be hardly sixteen years of age. Her dress indicated poverty, but it was neat and gracefully arranged. Rich, fair hair waved in curls around her open forehead; her features were regular and delicately formed, her mouth was pretty and bespoke an amiable disposition, and her deep blue eyes had a touching expression of softness and melancholy, which harmonized with the paleness of her complexion.

"Frederick stopped and watched her for some time. He could not be weary of such a sight. Why was she alone, beside the brook, while her companions were giving themselves up to pleasure and the dance? Whence that air of sadness which shaded her countenance? Frederick had seen her but for a moment, but he already felt an interest in her fate, and wished to know her history. It seemed as if his heart already shared her sorrows. Just then, several couples of the peasantry came along the path on their way to the dance. He spoke to some of the women, and, pointing to the girl beside the brook, 'Who is that pretty child,' he asked, 'and why does she not share your pleasures?' The countrywomen stopped, and turned a look full of sorrow and pity upon the maiden. Then they replied, 'O, Sir, the poor thing does not dance. It is Sister Anne.' The as-

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tonished Frederick waited for farther explanation, but the women turned away towards the dancers, saying again, in a mournful tone, 'It is Sister Anne.'"

Frederick accosts the girl herself, but can obtain no answer. At last, after some difficulty, he finds a person who is acquainted with her circumstances, and he learns the history of *Sœur Anne*. Her mother, Clotilde, who had evidently lost a higher station in society by forming an unequal match, came with her husband to the village shortly after their marriage. At first, they had but this one child; but when she was four years old, a boy was born, and Anne never quitted her brother. For some time, affairs went well with the parents; but then misfortunes came, the harvest failed, and the despairing father enlisted in the army. News soon came that he was killed in battle, but no one dared to tell poor Clotilde, who watched for her husband's return long after his death was known. She passed whole days at the foot of a tree, where he had parted from her, and whence she could perceive the road from the city, by which she expected him to return. If reminded of her children, she answered sadly, "Anne is with her brother; she never leaves him, and will be to him a second mother." In truth, the little girl, who was then but seven years old, astonished the whole village by her intelligence and her affection for her brother. She took care of him, rocked him, caressed him, and anticipated all his wants. The name of "Sister Anne" was the first that the infant learned to stammer, and all the peasants addressed her by that title, citing her as a model of sisterly love.

One stormy night, Clotilde did not return. The cottage was struck by lightning and set on fire; and when the peasants were alarmed, and made a way through the flames into the chamber, they found Sister Anne crouched beneath her mother's bed, clasping in her arms the brother whom she hoped to preserve from death. They were carried out, and it was found that Anne had fainted, and the boy was dead. Anne was soon recalled to life, but the grief and terror which she had undergone had deprived her of the power of speech. When she opened her mouth, she could utter only low, moaning sounds; and since that time she had remained dumb. Poor Clotilde was found dead at the foot of the tree, where she had spent so many days waiting

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for her husband. Anne was now alone in the world, and destitute ; but a poor old woman, named Margaret, who inhabited a small hut in the wood, adopted her, and, from the charity of the neighbours, she obtained a cow and some goats. Time had soothed the violence of her grief, and she became gentle and tranquil, and would even smile at times, though an air of sadness always mingled with the expression of pleasure. At the sight of a boy of nearly the same age with her brother, she would show great emotion, and the tears would gush from her eyes. Her looks and gestures were so expressive, that the peasants easily understood her wants, and she was beloved by all.

This story was quite enough to captivate a youth like Frederick, who had romantic, tender, and susceptible feelings. Leaving his two companions to amuse themselves, he spent his whole time wandering about the fields with Sister Anne, and endeavouring to teach her to write, in which attempt he succeeded so far that she learned how to trace the letters of his own name in the sand. He supposed that he was acting only from compassion and sympathy, but a stronger feeling masters them both, and the poor girl is seduced, with hardly a consciousness of wrong on either side. Meanwhile, Dubourg and Ménard are pursuing their own amusements. They form an intimacy with a retired wine merchant, M. Chambertin, and his wife, whose passion for the society of people of rank is as great as that of the poor tutor. The supposed baron plays his part with great dignity and impudence, and the rich merchant entertains him with much ceremony at his house, to which all the notables of the place are invited. The writer's love of fun runs riot in the description of these worthies, and the most laughable scenes succeed ; but the farce is so broad and coarse, that we can transfer no portion of it to our pages. The unlucky intrusion of a former acquaintance at Paris puts an end to these enjoyments, and obliges Dubourg to decamp with speed. But he still contrives to hoodwink the simple Ménard, whose credulity is so great that nothing can open his eyes. The two companions now find themselves separated from Frederick, without any money in their pockets, and with reputations somewhat tarnished among the people of the vicinity. But Dubourg is never at a loss. He finds a miserable company of strolling players, and persuades his comrade to take

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a place in it with himself. The rehearsal of a tragedy follows, and all the resources of the false nobleman are taxed to enable poor Ménard to sustain the character, for which he was but ill fitted, of a distinguished performer from Paris on a pleasure tour in the provinces. Their difficulties are brought to a climax, in the midst of the first representation, by the sudden appearance of M. de Montreville, who comes in search of his son, and finds the person, to whose grave charge he had been committed, arrayed in a most ridiculous costume, and on the point of making his *début* in a barn, before an audience of peasants, in the character of Theseus. The father obliges Ménard instantly to get into the postchaise with him, and, soon happening to meet with Frederick, who had walked from Margaret's hut to the village, he also is compelled, without any opportunity to apprize *Sœur Anne* of what had happened, to accompany M. de Montreville to Paris. Deserted by both his allies, Dubourg finds it necessary to quit the players even more suddenly than he had left the house of M. Chambertin; and, after some laughable adventures, in the character, which he assumes, of a quack doctor, he also succeeds in making his way back to the metropolis.

Frederick stands in such awe of his father, that he dares not speak of his *liaison* with the poor girl near Grenoble, though overwhelmed with anxiety for her fate. But M. de Montreville had received some hints on the subject from the poor tutor, and rightly supposing that the sated passion and susceptible heart of his son would soon find a new object, without communicating his purpose to any one, he goes back himself to the village, in order to find out the unfortunate girl, and to make amends, as far as was possible, for Frederick's misconduct. The consequences of Sister Anne's ill-starred love had become apparent, and she had, therefore, lost the respect and affection of the peasants. Made wretched by the inexplicable absence of her lover, after the death of Margaret, for whom with difficulty she obtains burial, she makes up her little bundle, and wanders forth into the wide world in search of the man whose very name she is unable to pronounce. Passing through a wood, she falls into the power of some brigands, by whom she is conducted to their hut, and, a few hours afterwards, M. de Montreville also comes there, ignorant of the character of the place, and

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seeking refuge from an attack by another party of the same men. The events which follow remind one of the terrible robber-scene in a forest, described in Smollet's "Count Fathom." By her courage and quick wit, Sister Anne contrives to apprize M. de Montreville of his danger, and the two escape together to a neighbouring village, where she is placed in a good farmer's family, and every provision made for her future comfort and support by her grateful and pitying companion. The father had recognized in her the being whom his son had so foully wronged, but this fact is kept secret from her, as it was intended that she should never see Frederick again.

Returning to Paris, M. de Montreville finds, as he had hoped, that his son's affections are engaged to the lovely and amiable Constance, the daughter of his friend M. de Valmont. The arrangements being easily made, the marriage takes place, and the queerest figure at the nuptials is our old friend Dubourg, who, having received a small inheritance, is resolved to put away his wild and dissipated habits, and become a grave and moral man. Accordingly, on this joyful occasion, he kept such a serious face, that he seemed to have the spleen, and his manner and gait were those of a man sixty years old.

"What the deuse ails your friend Dubourg? Does he usually pass his time in the graveyards? I went up to him once or twice for the sake of conversation, and he recited to me five or six passages from Young's 'Night Thoughts,' and the 'Petit Carême' of Massillon. He is certainly a gay companion for a marriage."

The married couple are happy, except that the amiable Constance is alarmed and made a little jealous by observing, at times, that her husband became pensive and dejected, without any apparent cause. He was really disturbed by remorse and anxiety on account of *Sœur Anne*. Of this sad history, the wife is entirely ignorant. Meanwhile, in the family of the good farmer, the unhappy mute had given birth to Frederick's child, and, through her affection for the boy, the kind people succeeded in dissuading her for a time from engaging in a fruitless search for the father. By tracing the letters on the sand, she had induced them to call the child Frederick, and her silent love of him is described as mani-

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festing itself in the most touching way. But, when he was nearly two years of age, she could no longer be restrained from setting out for Paris to seek for Frederick, having nothing to guide her but the written address of M. de Montreville, whom she knew only as a benevolent stranger, and hoped that he would assist her in tracing out her lover. It should be mentioned, that, after his marriage, Frederick had caused inquiries to be made for her at the village near Grenoble, but found that the peasants knew nothing except the fact, that she had disappeared after the death of Margaret. Sister Anne arrives at Paris, and falls into the hands of sharpers, who steal her purse containing the address, and abandon her in the streets. She is reduced to great misery, and gains a precarious subsistence for herself and child from the charity of casual observers. One day, during the absence of Frederick on a journey, Constance observes a poor woman in rags near her gate, tenderly caressing a beautiful boy whom she held in her arms. It was Sister Anne. Constance is interested by the sight, causes the stranger to be brought in, and, discovering that she is dumb, resolves to be the guardian and protector of her and the infant. Having no child of her own, she is particularly attracted by the aspect of the boy, in whom she fancies that she traces a resemblance to her husband. All their wants are supplied, and Anne is once more established in a safe and pleasant home. Frederick returns, and the following scene takes place.

"After the first moments were given to express the pleasure of meeting again, Constance said; 'During your absence, I have taken into the house an unfortunate woman. O! I hope you will love her as I do.'—'Every thing which you do is right, my dear Constance; your heart can never lead you astray. I am sure beforehand that you have bestowed your charity well.'—'Ah! it is a young woman, and so interesting! a victim of love; and all of our sex can sympathize with such sorrows! Her seducer abandoned her and a dear little child, whom I dote upon. His name, like yours, is Frederick. But what ails you, my dear? You grow pale, you tremble.'

"'It is the fatigue, perhaps; the hurry and excitement attending my return.'

"Frederick sat down, for his limbs failed him; what Constance had just said had caused an emotion which he could not restrain. He looked fearfully around him, as he asked, with a

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trembling voice, 'And this woman, — this child, — where are they?'

"'She is lodged in the pavilion in the garden. But I see her. Come, come quick, my dear,' said Constance, running to meet Sister Anne, who was approaching with her son. 'My husband is returned. Now, nothing is wanted to complete my happiness.'

"Constance took the young mute by the hand, and drew her into the apartment where her husband still remained. On seeing Frederick, Sister Anne uttered a piercing cry; she ran and threw herself into his arms, and fainted as she pointed to her son. Frederick with one hand supported Sister Anne, whose head fell upon his breast, and with the other he covered his eyes, as if he feared to look around him. His son was at his feet; he still supported the mother; and Constance, astonished and trembling, stood before them. In a moment, a thousand different feelings seemed to agitate the wife of Frederick. She changed color; her eyes expressed surprise and anxiety; she shuddered, and seemed to make an effort to drive away the fearful thought which had just occurred to her. But her looks, fixed in turn upon Sister Anne and her husband, sought to penetrate the mystery. Her first impulse was to run to the young mute, and draw her out of Frederick's arms.

"'What ails her? What means this agitation on seeing you,' stammered poor Constance, as she looked at Frederick; 'answer me, then, do you know this young woman?'

"Frederick had no power to answer, or to look his wife in the face. But he saw his son, and, taking him in his arms, covered him with kisses. The heart of Constance seemed to yield to the shock, and the whole truth became manifest to her."

An explanation takes place, and the afflicted wife, mastering her own grief and jealousy by a strong effort, seems to resign Frederick to the affection of his first love. But the trial is beyond her strength, and M. de Montreville opportunely arrives to prevent farther difficulties. He succeeds in making the young mute understand the real state of affairs, and the necessity of leaving the house and seeing Frederick no more. Preparations are made for their departure the next morning; but an accident occurs during the night, which removes the perplexities of her friends, and puts a period to the sorrows of the unfortunate girl. The pavilion, in which she was lodged, takes fire, and Sister Anne, with her child, is in danger of perishing in the flames. In the agony of the

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moment, a violent effort of nature bursts the bonds which had so long fettered her tongue, and she cries out, "Frederick, save thy child!" The household were already alarmed; and, as the cry reaches the ears of Frederick, he forces his way into the building, and bears out Sister Anne into the open air, with her child in her arms. The boy was unhurt, but the shock had been too great for the feeble frame of the unhappy mother, and she dies, blessing Frederick and Constance, and commending her son to their care.

Our sketch of *Sœur Anne* is quite imperfect, for it was necessary to pass very lightly over some of the most remarkable and characteristic passages. On the whole, it is a good specimen of the writer's abilities; for the plot has considerable variety and incident, many of the scenes are described with proper and deep feeling, and, though some portions are offensive to a pure taste and a nice sense of propriety, the general impression which the book leaves on the mind is favorable to virtue. Though the scene is laid, for the most part, at a distance from Paris, the characters are evidently drawn from the population of that gay city, with all the aspects of which, and the various classes of its inhabitants, our author is perfectly familiar. Dubourg may be met at any time on the *Boulevards*, M. Chambertin may be seen recommending his commodities for sale in many shops, or going with his wife to the *spectacle* in the evening, and we doubt not, that, due search being made through the attics of houses in the *quartier Latin*, a M. Ménard may be discovered by any one who is in want of a travelling tutor. Paul de Kock has a happy faculty, not only in seizing the general traits of the lower classes of his countrymen, their simplicity, frivolity, and good-humor, but in portraying with ludicrous fidelity the more remarkable features of an original, — the oddities which make up what is usually termed "a character," and thus setting forth a grotesque, but not unnatural, personage. He is a thorough student of eccentricities, and sometimes writes a whole novel with no other apparent purpose than that of exhibiting at full length one odd specimen of humanity.

Un Jeune Homme Charmant is written apparently with great earnestness of moral purpose, the design being to paint in strong colors the wretched career of a young man of fashion, vicious and heartless, who uses his remarkable ad-

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vantages of person, wealth, and station in society, only for gaining illicit pleasures and dishonorable ends. The course and termination of such a life, devoted to mere sensual gratifications, and restrained by no considerations of honor or humanity, and the retribution that arrives, when the pleasant vices of youth become the scourges and the brand of maturer years, are depicted with considerable power. The character of her who becomes the victim of "the charming young man," and the incidental sufferings which are caused by his reckless conduct, are also forcibly represented. Unfortunately, the writer uses this moral framework, as it may be called, only as a means of holding up many gay and striking pictures of the scenes through which a fashionable young rake at Paris may be supposed to pass, and of the droll companions by whom he is often surrounded. In this way, the leading idea of the book is sacrificed to its accessories, and an abstract of the plot would give a very false notion of its contents. Indeed, the *forte* of this author lies in the vivid description of separate scenes, which are often but slightly attached to the main thread of the story. The most amusing personages are, not the actors in the plot, or those who carry forward the succession of events, but individuals who are casually introduced only to create a laugh by their peculiarities. Their characters or eccentricities are brought out in a single scene, so far as the author chooses to make use of them, and then they disappear from the story altogether. With such a disposition of materials, the novel appears diffuse and rambling to a great degree; but it is still interesting as an animated and probably faithful delineation of manners.

Caroline, the heroine of this tale, is made to enlist the sympathies of the reader strongly by the wrongs that she suffers, and the powerful maternal affection which she displays; but she forfeits them by practising a long continued deceit on a generous husband, and by a timid submission to injury, and a fatuity of conduct, which no reasonable being can pardon. Marianne, her patient and affectionate nurse and attendant, is a far more successful portrait. Indeed, our author seems always to improve, to sketch with greater freedom, variety, and truth, in proportion as he descends in the social scale for the characters and incidents of his fictions. He is quite at home in the cellars and garrets, but

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he is ill at ease in apartments of greater pretensions, and appears like a very clown in a fashionable drawing-room. His chimney sweepers, street minstrels, and ignorant peasants, are capitally drawn ; persons in the middling classes are not so good ; and his people of rank and fashion are fairly detestable. The same remark may be applied to a large class of novel writers in some repute, whom it proves to be deficient in real nicety of discernment and delicacy of execution. Refinement, instruction, and good-breeding level outward differences, and reduce society to an apparently homogeneous mass, in which nothing but great tact and acute observation can detect various modifications of character and individual peculiarities. But, where artificial distinctions and observances do not exist, nature unfolds itself more freely, and puts forth such salient traits, that the artist can hardly fail to seize upon some of them in his work, and thus preserve at least a general resemblance to the original. Even Scott, who was a gentleman by instinct, and whose taste and partialities always leaned to the aristocratic side, describes the peasant much better than the lord, and generally makes the domestic a more interesting personage than his master. Paul de Kock is a vulgar fellow by nature, and might, therefore, be reasonably expected to fail in pictures of high life. There is a taint of coarseness and ill-breeding in his most successful sketches, which is not wholly redeemed by all his strength, vivacity, and humor.

La Jolie Fille du Faubourg has even less pretensions than either of the works which we have noticed, to be considered as a regular fiction, or as a book from which any profitable lesson might be derived. To the lover of broad fun, it offers a succession of lively pictures, which might move a monk of La Trappe to laughter, and which are eminently characteristic of the writer, and of the populace for whom they are drawn. Yet the proper heroine of the story, though she occupies only a small portion of it, is an interesting and even a lovely character, showing more purity of conception, and a nicer handling, than one would expect from so coarse a mind. Marguerite is the daughter of a man once in reputable standing, who gained a decent livelihood and the means of giving her a tolerable education, through his labors as a clerk in a banking-house. Nearly alone in the world, having no relatives, and few acquaintances, they find content and

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happiness in the proper use of a modest income, and in strong mutual affection. But the banking-house is broken open at night, and a large sum of money stolen, under circumstances which appear conclusively to fix the guilt upon the father. He is tried and found guilty, but, in consideration of his former excellent character, is sentenced only to six years' detention, — a milder kind of imprisonment. The daughter, reduced to indigence, and shrinking from notice on account of the shame of her father's situation, supports herself as a seamstress, and appears in pleasing contrast with the crowd of girls in a similar occupation, of joyous manners, and rather doubtful character, in the midst of whom she is obliged to live. The mode of life within doors, the labors and amusements, of these lively *grisettes*, afford wide scope for the pencil of our city Hogarth, who describes them with admirable spirit and humor, paying far more attention to them than to the principal personage of his story.

Marguerite finds a lover in Alexis Ranville, a young man of good connexions and education, and correct principles, but of the same timid and susceptible character as the Frederic of the former novel. He appears, at first, suffering under an unlucky passion for his cousin, Helen Brevanne, a brilliant coquette, who only amuses herself with the romantic feelings and the awkwardness of her former playmate. A masked ball, to which she invites him only for the sake of betraying him into the most ridiculous acts and situations, for the amusement of her company, affords room for one of those laughable sketches in which our author takes so great delight. Durozel, the friend of Alexis, engages that he shall have his revenge on the spoiled beauty, and, for that purpose, and in order to divert his melancholy, seeks to impart to him ease of manner, and knowledge of society, and to make him acquainted both with high and low life at Paris. The novel is made up chiefly from the events connected with the progress and success of this scheme, a copious store of materials being thus opened for the agreeable and discursive talent of the writer. One of the excursions thus prompted by Durozel is to a party and dance, given, after their fashion, by a number of the seamstresses, and this scene, also, is depicted with great spirit, in the way of broad, though not licentious, drollery. In the house tenanted by them, though not in their society, Alexis meets with Mar-

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guerite, and is captivated by her beauty, gentleness, and reserve, and the quiet resignation with which she bears misfortune. His passion for this poor girl, leading him to attribute less importance to other scenes and characters, enables him to acquire the confidence and tact which are requisite for success in fashionable life, and at last he triumphs signally over his cousin, when he had ceased to care for her, or for the people by whom she is surrounded.

It is not worth while to follow out the events by which this end is produced, or those through which Alexis finally discovers and proves the innocence of the father of Marguerite, and, having thus rescued her name from reproach, obtains her hand in marriage. We have said enough to give a general idea of the plot, and of the way in which the author uses it to introduce those broad delineations of low life in Paris in which he excels. We have vainly tried to find in this novel, and in several others by the same author, some passage, which, even under the disadvantage of a translation, might give, without offence to taste or purity, some notion of the comic talent of Paul de Kock. The serious portions do no justice to his abilities, and would not account for his popularity; and the remainder is so tainted with coarseness, and sometimes with what is worse, that we cannot spread any part of it before our readers. It does not appear that there is any perverseness or obliquity of opinion or sentiment about our author. He does not make war upon the laws of society. He has no new code of morals to recommend, by which virtues and vices shall change places with each other in the estimation of the world. On the contrary, he often shows a proper appreciation of true moral worth, a due discrimination of motives and actions, and a sympathy with suffering virtue. His principles are sound, except in his carelessness with respect to one vice, which exerts a wide and blasting influence over French manners; but his taste is corrupt. His wit is of the earth, earthy; his humor has all the pollutions of the kennel. A strange obtuseness of perception appears to beset him in reference to most of the decencies of life and language, the consequence of which is, that his sketches excite disgust quite as frequently as laughter. He has even a preference for wretched vulgarity, and seems to grovel, when the subject would naturally tempt him to soar. The prevalence of

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this vile trait in his later writings, and the continued popularity of his works, compel us to believe, that, in this respect, he is only adapting himself to the taste of his countrymen, and that the populace for whom he writes cannot be degraded even by his influence.

The other publications on our list only confirm the view which we have endeavoured to give of the characteristics of Paul de Kock as a novelist, and we can, therefore, pass over them very briefly. *Ni Jamais ni Toujours*, and *Mon Voisin Raymond*, might each be entitled — Passages from the life of a dissipated young man of talent and fortune in Paris. They contain much lively and humorous writing, and some pleasant adventures, though the author copies from himself at times, and the sketches which he presents are recognized as old acquaintances. The field which was open to him in the gay and brilliant city, with its thousand contrasts and shifting scenes, and its laughter-loving inhabitants, though a broad and fertile one, had already yielded him much fruit, and, in his later publications, he appears, at best, to be only gleaning after an abundant harvest. He has, in truth, but a slender vein of invention, and appears to best advantage as an imitator, in making a faithful copy of what is actually before his eyes. And, even in this task, he is most successful, when not obliged to string together the scenes into a connected story, but when each subject stands by itself, and single incidents and characters are not worked up into an elaborate narrative. The two volumes of *Les Mœurs Parisiennes* are filled with such unconnected pieces, and may be reckoned among his most successful and amusing publications. Many of them are quite equal to the best of the "Sketches" of London life, for which we are indebted to Boz.

We have had some scruples about laying before our readers such an account of the light literature of France at the present day as is given above, and in former articles upon the writings of George Sand, and Alexandre Dumas. The question may be asked, Why take any notice of books, which, however indicative of a certain kind of talent, are not suited to the English or American taste, and contain much objectionable and offensive matter? Our answer is, that these publications, with all their faults, are curious, both as a warning and a study; they tell us something respecting

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the workings of a depraved taste and imagination, and they throw much light on the character, situation, and opinions, of a large portion of the reading population of France, where they enjoy a great and rapidly increasing popularity. They are as significant, in their way, as were the writings of reflecting and speculative men among the French, just before the outbreak of the revolution of 1789. They show what ideas are simmering in the great cauldron of Paris, and what must be expected, when the fire shall burn more fiercely, and the contents of the vessel shall rise to the surface and overflow. Novels and newspapers constitute nearly all the intellectual food of a great multitude of readers, which is daily increasing, in consequence of the widely diffused means of public education and the cheapness of printing, and the character of these publications is at once an index and a cause of the state of opinion and sentiment among the people to whom they are addressed. Whatever grossness and immorality, whatever licentious speculations upon society, politics, and religion, they may contain, they reflect but too faithfully the moral and intellectual condition of those who read them; and, in proportion to the energy and ability with which they are written, they heighten the very evils which they reveal. It is a source of some consolation and pride, to reflect, that, whatever may be the faults chargeable upon cheap publications of a similar class in the English language, they are far purer and better, more sound in principle and healthy in tone, than the works which are now issuing in great profusion from the Parisian press.

ART. III. — *The Student-life of Germany.* By WILLIAM HOWITT. From the unpublished MS. of Dr. Cornelius. Containing nearly forty of the most famous Student-Songs. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 1842. 8vo. pp. 467.

THE title of this book will, no doubt, bring up to the minds of most of our readers a vision of young men, assembled together in Universities, with ample libraries and distinguished professors, from whom they learn, that to give two-

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thirds of the twenty-four hours to study is less a sacrifice than a self-indulgence. It may be, that here, as in some other cases, half would be better than the whole ; it may be, that their minds would work to more advantage, if not so heavily laden. Still, the thought of such a lofty estimate of the dignity of intellectual pursuits, and such intense devotion to learning, carries with it an imposing title to respect ; and all liberal minds delight to honor the German University, both for what it is, and for what it has done.

With this feeling, we take up such works as the one now before us, desiring to see the interior of this strangely ascetic life ; to know how it is, that these persons become thus independent of common wants and pleasures, and from what sources this high inspiration is drawn. We have no such forms of life among ourselves ; and, though we may not find reason to adopt all their ways, in preference to our own, we feel as if, with due selection, and proper allowance for difference of circumstances, we might gain something by emulation, at least, if not by following their example. With such impressions, we put ourselves under Mr. Howitt's guidance ; and the youth in Dr. Johnson's distich, who applied, with tears in his eyes, to the "hermit hoar in solemn cell," to know the way to happiness, was not more amazed to hear the sage say, "Come, my lad, and drink some beer," than we were, to be conducted, not to the "high, lonely tower," with its pale midnight lamp, but to the bar-room of an inn, where a jolly company are shouting drinking-songs with lungs of brass, draining pots of beer at every cadence, and heaping the jugs into a pyramid to stand in commemoration of what they have done. Or, if this is not enough, we may be admitted to a different scene, where, after preparing themselves for single combat, by head-pieces and mufflers, so as to leave hardly a possible chance of danger, two of these hopeful youths engage in a sham-fight, compared to which, those witnessed at our autumnal reviews are serious and solemn things. Truly, if such is the interior of student-life in Germany, we are content that our own students should never enjoy such advantages, and shall never more complain that their intellectual attainments are comparatively few and small. Richter ingeniously suggests, that these processes are useful, and happily devised for preventing the natural refinement of student-life from going to ex-

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cess. We should not have imagined, without being told, that there was any imminent danger of such a catastrophe; but if it is so, — and he must know better than we, — truly, one could hardly imagine a more effectual preventive than cudgels and pots of beer. We have never perceived any such danger in our seats of learning; and if the complaint should make its appearance, these are not precisely the remedies to which we should think of resorting. But perhaps it would savor of exclusive presumption, to pronounce that application unsuited to all constitutions, which, we are confident, would not be the thing for ours.

The author perceives that this account of student-life may be received with some irreverence; and, accordingly, resents by anticipation the reflections which he apprehends will be cast. He is, himself, no fighting character, and, though "not an advocate of that watery suction, miscalled temperance," is not in favor of drinking. Now this "watery suction," as it has pleased him to call it, certainly is temperance, and, like its kindred "spare fast, that oft with gods doth diet," is more likely to nourish high sentiments and imaginations than are those libations of beer and wine, which, as all experience shows, bring down the mind and heart into full communion with the clod. We cannot help thinking him in grievous error on this subject, and very sorry should we be to have him communicate the heresy to young men in this country, or in his own. No doubt, there is a sort of glory in the revel, when the hall is lighted up, when the sympathy of joy and friendship spreads from heart to heart, and the fire of unnatural excitement is just beginning to burn. But let any one visit, by the light of the next morning, the scene of riotous excess, and ask for the lofty sentiments and the glowing fancies of the preceding night, and he will find little poetry, or patriotism either, in the sad heart or the aching head; he will see that these are not the schools in which any thing great and generous is to be learned, and there can be no greater fraud than to give the impression to the young, that self-indulgence is consistent with any thing great or high. We do not mean to accuse the author of any such design; his heart seems to be in the right place; but he either does not see these things in their true light, or he is induced, by his sympathy with the persons whom he describes, to visit their follies with much less con-

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demnation than they deserve. It is true enough, as he suggests, that similar scenes are witnessed in other places. If the "Westminster Review" may be trusted, a large proportion of the students at the English Universities lead a life which, when stripped of its foppery and pretension, is sottish and disgusting, to the last degree. Lockhart is no unfriendly authority; and, in his "Reginald Dalton," he gives the same impression, that dissipation prevails, in its most open and shameless forms, throughout those venerable halls. Now all this may be; but it is not very clear, how the circumstance, that the English Universities are bad, can make the German any better. It probably is wiser, as a choice of evils, to stupefy one's self with beer than to inflame with wine; but, instead of setting one against the other, the better course is, to treat both with the contempt they deserve, and never to allow the association of poetry and high feeling with licentiousness and self-indulgence, though many have endeavoured to unite what God and nature have put asunder. Many Anacreons, in various ages, have been the worst enemies of humanity, and the moral sentiment of future times will consign them to a most unenviable immortality.

It ought not to be forgotten, however, that, in every collection of men, — we do not say *young* men, for the thing is not peculiar to any age, — strange practices and sentiments grow up in consequence of their seclusion from domestic influences and other natural restraints, by means of which men at large are kept in order. We see this in the example of the American Congress, so unfortunately assembled in a city of their own, where they are not immediately acted upon by public opinion. Let any one witness an excited scene in that body, and he will be astonished beyond measure, that men, who must be, to some extent, trusted and honored at home, can be so unspeakably childish on these occasions. Nothing would tempt them into these antic exhibitions of themselves in the presence of their wives, children, and neighbours; being well assured, that, if they did so, they would never hear the last of it at their domestic altars. If these things can be in high places, as every one knows that they are, it is not surprising that the same absence of domestic influences should have a similar effect on younger men, leading them into habits of thought and ways of life which others cannot sympathize with, nor respect, nor even understand.

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When the curtain is withdrawn from the interior of foreign seats of learning, we see nothing which, in these respects, makes it necessary to blush for our own; but every one, who has resided in our colleges, knows what a peculiar atmosphere is created, and what a strange sort of opinion is manufactured, within their walls. The tragic and the comic are often thrown out of their accustomed places; new and unheard-of propositions in morals are upheld as if they were long-established truths, and with a zeal which would seem grotesque and ironical, if it did not so evidently come from the heart. Actions, which no one, in the open world, would think of defending, are trumpeted forth as efforts of distinguished virtue, and if any one is called to account for one of these exploits, he is looked upon as a Christian martyr. The great difficulty of conducting these institutions arises from the fact, that no mortal can tell how particular things will strike the collective wisdom of a college; in the world, one may calculate with reasonable precision; but there is no Espy to say how, at any given time, within a college, the wind will happen to blow. This occasional waywardness is the chief difficulty arising from the monastic system, as it prevails in our colleges. The moral evils of such retreats have been greatly reduced by that "watery suction" which Mr. Howitt holds in so light esteem. In spite of his authority, we should be very sorry to witness a rejection of the unpretending element. We are thoroughly skeptical as to the genuineness of that fine sentiment which is thought to be associated with drinking. For the ordinary purpose of quenching thirst, still more for moral and intellectual improvement, one draught from a common spring, not to speak of Castalian fountains, is worth a thousand pots of beer. During the rejoicings in London, after the peace of Amiens, Espriella says, that one of these last-named articles, creamy and foaming, was exhibited in a transparency, with a label proceeding from it, containing the words, "I am coming down." This agreeable prediction, doubtless, had respect to the price; but if it referred to the estimation, also, it is in a fair way to be fulfilled among persons of English descent, though, in some parts of the civilized world, it would seem to stand as high as ever.

The associations, which give the tone to social life in the German Universities, appear to have grown out of the ten-

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dency manifested by students who come from the same region, to associate together, and, though divided by their pursuits and studies, to maintain a union of sympathy and feeling. This was a very natural arrangement; and, as such, was countenanced by the public authorities. But when they became so many schools of free and patriotic sentiment, they fell under suspicion; and, as they were really more united by regard for their common country, than for the particular part of it from which they happened to come, they followed the prevailing impulse, and were amalgamated into one *Burschenschaft*, as it is called. The murder of Kotzebue, by Sand, in 1819, drew the attention of the government to this association; and, as such notice is rather oppressive than complimentary, the members of the *Burschenschaft* resolved themselves again into their *Chores*, or local unions. These still exist, with their particular colors and badges, though without the freshness of their earlier days. They are generally prohibited by the government, and, therefore, many decline to join them; but they nevertheless exist, and exert an influence over the whole body of the students. It is to them that we owe the existence of some of these precious remnants of former habits to which we have already alluded, and which, without any great loss to manners or morals, might have been suffered to pass away.

Though these *Chores* are under the ban of the government, they contrive to evade its laws and penalties; being less frowned upon, perhaps, because they have lost much of their traditional charm, being rather accidental and capricious than historical and earnest, and, therefore, less dangerous to established power. Sometimes one dissolves, in consequence of the smallness of its numbers, and a new one springs up in its stead. Such an association signifies its purpose to the assembly of seniors, who hold a sort of patriarchal authority; and if it seems good to these elders, the new *Chore* appears, as such, in the next *Allgemeine*, which is the gathering of all the *Chores;* an event welcomed with great satisfaction, inasmuch as it affords a pleasing opportunity for them to pick quarrels with each other. The new company strikes up an alliance with one of the old, and an enmity with some other; a general challenging takes place between the various members, duels are attended with great

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delight, and rejoicings — such as might be expected — follow the victory. It is said, that the qualifications for a leader of a *Chore* are great skill in the use of arms, a powerful voice, and a stomach that will hold "plenty of beer." One who has these excellent gifts is duly respected; being considered able, on all occasions, to maintain the honor of the band over which he presides. The next officer is a sort of secretary of war, having charge of all that relates to the duel, such as the arms and etiquette, and holding himself ready to act as second, whenever his services may be required. The third of these literary dignitaries is the treasurer of the association. The affairs of this intellectual body are managed by the *Chore* convent, as it is called, which is connected with the general assembly of all the *Chores;* and, on all occasions of peculiar solemnity, their energies are concentrated in one body. The greatest of these occasions is that of excommunication. When a trader, an innkeeper, or shop-keeper, has offered an injury to a student, he appeals to this tribunal, and, the charge duly authenticated, they make inquiry into the guilt of the accused. If it be proved against him, he is laid under proscription for a given time, and no student, whether in or out of the union, is permitted to enter his premises, or to purchase any thing from him, under penalty of a similar persecution. Beside this venerable body, there is also a beer court, composed, doubtless, of individuals thoroughly habituated to such matters, who are to settle all points of drinking ceremony, which are neither small in importance, nor few in number. The labors of this tribunal, we should apprehend, must be somewhat oppressive; but the honor, such as it is, is probably deemed a sufficient compensation. The students who take no part in any of these proceedings are contemptuously called "camels." The explanation of the term and its application is not given; but it is, doubtless, because the animal in question is so abstinent in respect to drinking, that his name is applied in scorn to those who thus forget the claims of literature, and the higher purposes of existence.

There is an account given of the ceremonies of introduction to one of these associations, of the same highly intellectual character which might be expected from the preceding examples. The *Chores* assemble in one of their most spacious rooms, embellished with the insignia of the order. The

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president of the evening sits at a table with a drawn sword before him, and the spectators are well provided with their professional equipment of pipes and beer. The doors suddenly open, and an old *Bursch*, seated in a chair with its back before him, rides in, dressed in jack-boots and leather-breeches, and wearing the hat of a postilion, with the horn at his side, and a sword in his right hand. Sometimes he appears riding on an ass, but not often ; probably from the difficulty of determining which of the two animals is entitled to ride the other. A procession of *Foxes*, or youths who are thus entering upon their literary career, follow him in similar guise, and the whole assembly break forth into a song, consisting of questions and replies ; after which, they proceed to the more serious business of the evening, and furnish each catechumen with a pipe and a pot of beer. When these more general solemnities are over, they proceed to the details of the occasion. First comes the initiation of the "Brand-Foxes," or freshmen entering on their second half-year. The candidates appear in great wigs of tow, and are pursued by the assembled *Burschen* with lighted papers, with which they beat them over the head and face, till the paper burns out, when the service is completed, and they are advanced to the dignity of *Brand-Foxes*. But this does not end the race of ambition. The degree of the *Young Burschen* is before them, and each one sits down by the side of an old *Bursch*, who is to serve as his example. Whatever the venerable elder drinks, the disciple must do the same ; accordingly, at the conclusion of the scene, the younger portion are in a condition more easily imagined than described, and the elders enjoy the placid satisfaction of those who have assisted others in an opening race of glory.

Considering the element of these rejoicings, and the life to which they belong, it would be strange, if harmony should always remain unbroken ; and, accordingly, a way is open to exact redress, and receive satisfaction for insults and wrongs. It is not wholly without danger ; though, setting the friendly *symposium* by the side of the mortal combat, the former seems to us incomparably the most dangerous of the two. In case of a quarrel, the injured or insulted party applies to one of the *Chores*. That respectable body undertakes the management of the affair ; providing a surgeon, appointing the place of meeting, and announcing the arrangements to

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the parties concerned. The usual weapon is a long, flexible blade, blunt at the point, and basket-hilted, to protect the hand. Sometimes they make use of pistols or the sabre, but, in general, they betray no rashness in the exposure of their lives.

Each duellist is conducted into a chamber by his witness and second, in order to put on his armor. This consists of a cap, which is generally worn loose, that the blows may take less effect. A tall cravat protects the throat, reaching up to the nose. The arm is secured by a leather glove, over which is drawn a quilted covering, with a bandage about the shoulder. The legs are inserted in trousers of thick leather, coming high over the breast. The whole person being thus invested, it must require considerable adroitness, not merely to give, but to receive, a dangerous blow ; though it is said, that the theological students fight in a large cap, to make the face more secure, since, if they should carry the marks of one of these encounters, their services in the church militant would be less in request than if they had had no experience in arms.

In addition to the other precautions, the second is provided with a rapier fixed in a basket-handle, with which he is to ward off blows intended for his principal, in case the point is presented. When the word is given, the combatants cross their swords, and move round each other, looking for some unguarded part, which, as may be supposed, it is not so easy to find. As soon as a blow is given, the battle is suspended, to ascertain what damage is done. It generally turns out, that the garment is that which needs repair ; sometimes eyes and noses suffer considerable detriment, but the injury seldom reaches the brain, which is but little concerned in these transactions. There are some who have fought thirty, forty, and even sixty times, without any serious wounds. The harmlessness of this kind of duel is its great recommendation to the parties. We observe, that the fire-eaters in this country, ferocious as they are to those who have too much sense and conscience to fight, are extremely civil and complaisant to each other. Explanations are readily given and accepted, where there is the least danger of actual war, though in other cases they are terribly unrelenting. The truth is, that the whole business is stupid and senseless, whether in its harmless or savage form, and, of

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all places where it should be tolerated, a seat of learning should be the last.

It must not be supposed, that the authorities smile upon these interesting and amiable proceedings. A reward is offered to those who shall detect offenders, which produces a contest of skill between the beadles endeavouring to make arrests, and the students to evade them. An emissary of the parties is stationed to give a signal of the beadle's approach; in case there is time to disrobe themselves, they leave the ground in a very innocent manner, and return to their usual quarters; but, if the alarm is too pressing, the martialists sound a retreat, not the most dignified, into some neighbouring garret, or cornfield, intending to return, and put on their warlike air again, as soon as the danger is past. Should they be caught, they are conducted to the university prison, in the upper part of the house of the chief beadle. It consists of apartments secured with iron gratings, and furnished only with a bed, a small table, and a wooden chair. The penalty is varied, according to the aggravation of the offence. When books and visits are denied, still more, when the bed is carried out in the morning, as is the case in some universities, the student finds it a serious thing to be left "alone in his glory."

We are introduced to some personages who act an important part at Heidelberg, not precisely in any literary department, but in services which throw some light upon prevailing tastes and feelings. One of these is the Red Fisherman, as he is called, from the color of his hair, a person of great activity, strength, and courage, who, by reason of these qualifications, is able to serve the students, not exactly in their studies, but in other respects, which they hold in as great esteem. At night, when the bell sounds a retreat from public houses, he makes his rounds, and, if he finds any literary characters so much "bemused with beer," as to be unable to obey its summons, he takes one on each shoulder, and conveys the precious burden home. When the students get into difficulty by insulting the neighbouring peasants, who are not slow to wrath on such occasions, he interposes his great strength for the rescue, and saves them from the chastisement they deserve. He is the person always employed in their martial combats, to detect the movements of the police, and give the parties warning in time to fly. As, in

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addition to these active services, "he patiently bears their whims and humors in their barleycornish hours," one may easily understand what a treasure such a person must be in any literary institution.

Another person, who serves to furnish intellectual amusement, is one who began life as a student; but, never having been very sound in his understanding, afforded excellent sport to those who were humane enough to take advantage of his simplicity. He received a forged letter, informing him that he was appointed a privy counsellor of the Hesse Darmstadt Court, from which he has derived his present title of Privy Counsellor Diehl. In this letter, he was advised to procure a certain pomatum for his hair, which he did; the consequence was, that his hair was taken off by the application, and his reason, which was weak before, was hopelessly darkened, so that the joke was not only completely successful, but a standing subject of mirth was provided for many a future day. He now employs himself in maturing vast schemes of physical and civil improvement, all of which he commits to interminable reams of paper. By day, he walks round with his dog, to which he is devotedly attached, and is remarked at once for his air of gentle humility, mingled with inoffensive pride. His compositions serve to amuse the students; but it is not easy to tell why; there is nothing very ludicrous in such words as these: "To injure a man in his eyesight irreparably, — to damage his hearing, — to cause his hair to fall off, — to induce epilepsy, — to make his very spirit stand still! Instead of that office of important study to which I believed myself advanced, thus came I to sit where inexpressible pains are given, which make every thing in man, that is of the nature of man, cry out. But the hardest of all was to become a maniac!" It is true, that there are many long passages in his writings which are evidently "built in the eclipse," and thoroughly destitute of meaning; but, in this respect, they very much resemble certain lucubrations which have been greatly admired among ourselves, not so much for the meaning which they conveyed, as for the masterly manner in which their meaning, if they had any, was folded up within them, so as not to be discovered by any uninitiated eye; reminding one of the diamond, taken out from a hundred wrappers, to be exhibited to Belzoni, by an Egyptian who believed it of priceless value,

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while the European saw at once that it was part of an old cruet-stopper.

Another of these characters, and surely one of the most respectable, is an old lady, whose vocation is to sell fruit to the students. Not that there is any thing very eminent in her calling; but, by means of it, she has supported her son through the various stages of education, till he has reached the dignity of curate in the church. In one respect, her services must be of great value; she is very free with her well-meant advice, when any members of the university, of her acquaintance, are guilty of any discreditable conduct. This office can be no sinecure, since, judging from what we have already seen, the need of such services must be tolerably general, though they may not be esteemed as they deserve.

There is one characteristic of German student-life which has more to recommend it than some others to which we have alluded. We mean the fondness for music, for which the nation is distinguished. It is found in all ranks and classes, the high and the low, the cultivated and the unenlightened, and exerts a refining effect upon them all. It is said, that, if you take from Germany its music, its drinking, and its smoking, it becomes quite another country. We should be perfectly willing to have it lose its identity, so far as the latter accomplishments are concerned; but its music deserves to be placed in a different association; of the angles of this triangle, it is the only right one; and, if it were possible to redeem the other two recreations from the charge of grossness, it would be done by this beautiful art, which, one would think, might be sufficient, without the aid of more earthly stimulants, to raise the spirits, and warm the heart. In most of the German schools, some instruction in music is given; not very systematic or extensive, but sufficient to give every one some idea of melody, and to enable him to use his own powers. Specimens of the songs most popular among the students are given; they do not convey the most exalted idea of the verse thus married to song; but, perhaps, traditional associations, recollections of former days, and excited social feelings, may give them charms, which a stranger cannot easily discover. Unfortunately, the idea of drinking is quite too often and too prominently presented, and the author says, that, "when the cups have not gone their rounds too diligently, it is a genuine pleasure to listen to them."

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The delight would, in our opinion, be quite as genuine, if it were entirely separated from this danger. We do not think much of the moral reflection, that the student may well enjoy these days, because they are few. In all those cases where a man sets fire to his dwelling, to enjoy the present warmth of the blaze, he finds that his momentary pleasure leads on to future consequences which are not so pleasant. Such fires are more easily kindled than extinguished.

The author, apparently from his own observation, describes the accommodations of the student at the university, which, so far as they are illustrative of taste and character, are worth regarding. He represents himself as going with a friend to a chamber, from which, as he opened the door, rolled a dense cloud of smoke, that prevented their seeing any thing within; but they heard a whip whistling in the air, and a voice shouting to a dog, "Down! down!" These dogs are a very general article of the student's furniture, and attend him in his rides, walks, and battles. It is recorded, that, a nose being unfortunately cut off in a duel, one of the dogs present stepped forward and swallowed it, thus putting an end to all hope of its restoration. As soon as the host became visible, he courteously welcomed his visiters, and supplied each with a well-filled pipe, as the first earnest of hospitality. In taking observations, they saw a small sleeping-apartment attached to a larger chamber, which would have seemed comfortable, were it not for the confusion of books, pipes, rapiers, clothes, and writing apparatus, wildly thrown together on tables, chairs, a sofa, and book-shelves, with a little stove in the centre. The student himself was arrayed in a dressing-gown and showy slippers, with a handkerchief thrown loosely round his neck, and an embroidered cap, called a *beer-cap*, on his head. On one wall of the room was *silhouettes*, with a *Chore-band*, or riband showing the appropriate colors of the fraternity, festooned over them. The second contained some likenesses of professors, and views of different cities. On the third wall were pipes of all sorts and sizes; and on the fourth, a *Chore-cap* and guitar, under which was a little table, with preparations for smoking and drinking. The course of life for the day appeared to be this; in the morning, they pursue their studies over a cup of coffee and pipe of tobacco, and then go to the classes; they dine at twelve, then go to the coffee-house, and, in the even-

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ing, to the *Kneip*, or meeting-room of the *Chore*, to drink beer. A long dissertation is here given on the various kinds of pipes, and we are assured that this filthy habit of smoking has increased very much within the last twenty years. We were not aware that it could be greater, nor that it ever had been less, than it is now.

There is, however, a brighter page in this volume, to which we gladly turn. It celebrates the enthusiasm for the freedom of their country, which was called out in the students of the universities, at the time when the blood-shod foot of Napoleon was trampling it down. The first *Burschenschaft* (we ought, perhaps, to have said, that the *Bursch* is a student who has been long enough at the university to enter into its social ways and feelings,) was formed when Francis the Second abdicated the German Imperial throne, under the pressure of dishonorable compulsion. The German language and spirit had been elevated by Schiller, Göthe, and Lessing. The French language and literature fell at once in the general esteem. As the literary honor rose, the sense of political degradation became more intolerble, and, as might have been expected, this contrast of glory and shame came home most powerfully to the German student's breast. The effect was, to raise him above the follies which we have described, and to turn the tide of social feeling, which had run in these meaner channels, into one deep and strong current of patriotic self-devotion. The members of the *Burschenschaft* endeavoured to maintain great purity of manners, and to increase their physical strength; the miserable duel was not allowed between those connected with the union; the associations of the different universities kept up constant communication with each other; and the best spirits of the land, seeing that a mighty engine was here in motion and gathering strength, considered it a duty to afford all the aid and encouragement in their power. Their anniversaries were celebrated with processions and torch-trains; they gloried in copying the dress and customs of their German fathers; and, as soon as the trumpet sounded, volunteers poured forth from the universities, who had been prepared in these associations, to do and sacrifice every thing in resisting the oppressors of their country. Körner's songs express the inspiration which, at that inspiring time, swelled in every young German heart. Napoleon, un-

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fortunately for his reputation and the stability of his empire, did not understand the power of these moral affections, till he saw the mighty spirits rising from the deep where they had slumbered; nor were the Holy Allies aware, that it was dangerous to trifle with those who had once risen against oppression, and had tasted the blessing of the free.

Though the general spirit of this association was moral and elevated, there were some instances in which it ran into wild and criminal excess; — naturally enough, where the precious doctrine is accepted, that the instincts and impulses are a sufficient rule of duty. Of these, the most remarkable case was that of Sand, the murderer of Kotzebue, whose employment in the Russian service required him to furnish reports on the state of literature and public opinion, which were fashioned, perhaps, with more regard to the taste of his employers than to the interests of his own country. One of these reports, which was particularly offensive, became known, through the faithlessness of a transcriber, and it contained charges against certain persons which excited great indignation. In other public ways, also, Kotzebue showed himself the enemy of the free spirit which prevailed; and Sand, a retired and pensive dreamer, who communicated little with others, and brooded in secret over his own duty and destiny, felt himself called to visit the wrongs of his country upon the offender's head.

He said, that the idea of destroying Kotzebue presented itself gradually to his mind, which at first refused to welcome it, partly from a natural shrinking from such a deed, and partly from the feeling that he was born to something better. He often prayed that he might not be called to the effort; but the purpose became a fixed idea, which he could not dislodge, and, when he heard that Kotzebue was about to return to Russia, he resolved that the deed must be done. He made choice of a large and a small dagger, carrying one in the breast of the waistcoat, and the other secured in his sleeve. He then prepared a manifesto, designed to be made public, in which he glories in the deed he is about to do, assigning his reasons for it, and calling upon his countrymen to assert their high destiny. He observed, however, that he stood alone; "I have no dependence but on the Eternal Father; in Him I grasp courage to conquer the last terror, and to accomplish my solemn deed." Coy-

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ering his dress with a carter's frock, he left Jena, and proceeded with great deliberation to Manheim, reading the Gospel of St. John upon the way, which, together with Körner's poems, he carried with him. He breakfasted at a hotel, and, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, was conducted by a waiter to the house of his victim. He announced himself to the maid at the door as a gentleman from Mietau, and, as Kotzebue was absent, was requested to call at five in the afternoon. At dinner, he conversed with great composure on various subjects, and, at the appointed time, returned, and found Kotzebue at home. He lamented most of all, when he came into the presence of his victim, that he was compelled to dissemble in order to prevent suspicion. After a few phrases of complimentary address, he drew his dagger, and, with the words, "Here! thou traitor to the Fatherland!" struck Kotzebue down. Then, with the small dagger from the sleeve, he gave him several stabs in the side. The work was done so effectually, that, without any effort, and with but one short cry of alarm, the victim sunk to the floor. The murderer, turning round, saw one of the children, whose scream of terror gave him such a feeling, that he felt bound to make it some recompense, as he said, for the loss of its father, and, therefore, stabbed himself in the breast. In presence of the people, who were at once collected together, he kneeled down, saying, "I thank thee, God, for thy victory!" and, pressing the small sword with his hands, forced it into his bosom, and fell upon his side. But the wound inflicted on himself was not mortal.

This fanatic behaved, at his execution, with great decency and composure. He requested that no clergyman might attend him, because it was, in his opinion, a degradation of the clerical order, to require their presence on such occasions. He expressed the same perverted religious feeling as before. In reference to the murder, he said, that, if, through divine revelation, he could learn that his act was wrong, he should repent it; meaning, probably, a particular revelation to him, for one would suppose that the revelation in the Scriptures was tolerably explicit on the subject of bloodshed, and of doing evil that good may come. His moral theory was expressed in the words, "My own conviction is my law. I act right, whenever I follow it. It guides me better than divine or human precepts." It is

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needless to enlarge on the subject; his whole history is a sufficient commentary on the doctrine of those, who think that every vessel can pilot its own way into port by means of the lantern on its deck, much better than by observing the fixed lighthouse on the shore.

The murder of Kotzebue did not create much alarm, since he was neither beloved nor respected in his country; but an attempt to assassinate Ibell, the President of the first Chamber of Nassau, by the fanatic Löning, gave the impression that an evil spirit was abroad, and the *Burschenschaft*, together with all other associations of the kind, was suppressed by the strong arm of the law. As usual on such occasions, these guilty deeds, done in the name of liberty, not only failed of their designed effect, but brought reproach on the name of freedom, and gave a pretext, which was readily seized, for persecuting all men of liberal opinions, for suppressing all free publication of thought, and establishing tribunals for purposes of oppression. In this poor work, Russia took the lead, and thereby lost the honor which she had acquired by her efforts to deliver Germany from the power of France, and by other manifestations of generous feeling.

But we are pursuing the subject farther than we intended. Having great respect for the German mind and character, we cannot say that we have enjoyed this work, though we would not disparage the entertaining powers of the writer. We must say, that this perpetual beer-drinking and pipe-smoking are essentially coarse and low, and, so far from being raised to the skies, by their association with intellect and literature, are much more likely to draw those angels down. The author says, that, "amid all the follies, mad frolics, and nonsense of German student-life, he must be destitute of poetry himself who does not feel it there." We must plead guilty to the charge in its full extent, and, what is worse, feel neither penitence nor shame for others' destitution. We should be sorry to see poetry and high sentiment coming in such a questionable shape into our own universities; but, if the thing should happen, we shall be apt to speak to it, and tell it our minds without reserve.

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ART. IV. — *M. T. Ciceronis Tusculanarum Quæstionum Libri Quinque. Ex Editionibus Oliveti et Ernesti. Accedunt Notæ Anglicæ. Curâ* C. K. DILLAWAY, A. M. Philadelphia and Boston. 1842. Two Volumes.

MR. DILLAWAY has lately sent forth two new volumes of his neat edition of Latin classics, containing the "Tusculan Questions" of Cicero. They correspond to the volumes previously published in their appearance, design, and execution. The text in this case, as well as in that of the previously published works of Cicero embraced in this collection, is stated to be "Ex Editionibus Oliveti et Ernesti." We do not suppose this text to be the result of Mr. Dillaway's own critical labors, but simply a reprint of the small London edition, frequently called the "Regent's Edition," which bears on the title-page the same declaration, with the addition "assiduâ recensione accurata." Each volume is accompanied by notes of a miscellaneous character, intended to elucidate the thoughts and language of the author, and to explain historical, literary, and other allusions.

Before entering upon an examination of the manner in which the editor has executed his task, we feel bound to bear testimony to the zeal of Mr. Dillaway in bringing many works of the best Latin authors within the reach of young students in schools and colleges, and thus enabling these institutions to accomplish one of their objects, — the imparting of a knowledge of the Latin language by the use of many *different* authors, — a change no less beneficial, in our opinion, to the pupil, than agreeable to the instructer.

With regard to the text of this work, and of several others of Cicero, it cannot fail to be a cause of regret to every lover of that great Roman writer, that the editor has made a choice so little in accordance with both the claims and resources of the present day. The text of the Regent's edition is a compound of that of Olivet and Ernesti, made by a person who is not even named, and on principles which the reader, unaided by any hint or observation of either editor or publisher, is left to gather, as best he may, from the work itself. There is no preface, there are no notes, stating when and for what reasons, in one case, the reading of Ernesti, in another, of Olivet, and in a third, of neither, is

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adopted. The edition is, consequently, worthless in a critical point of view, whatever may be said in its favor on the ground of its neatness and typographical correctness. It may have been a very profitable speculation for the bookseller, but it is certainly a very unscholarlike production. If Mr. Dillaway had any reasons — and we cannot but suppose that such was the case, although he observes an unbroken silence on this subject — for resting satisfied with the results of criticism, in settling the text of Cicero, obtained nearly a hundred years ago, and for eschewing and ignoring the great progress made since then, he should have stated them ; but we must protest against his mode of proceeding, as a strange kind of literary and critical conservatism. If, as we have said, he preferred to take no notice of the labors of a series of illustrious scholars of the last three generations, we should have advised him to adopt either the text of Ernesti or of Olivet, and not contribute to spread and perpetuate such a critical hotch-potch as the Regent's edition.

The edition of Olivet enjoyed, for a considerable time, a great and extensive popularity ; but not so much on account of its merits, as because it was, after an interval of half a century, the first entire edition of Cicero's works ; the edition of Gronovius having appeared in 1692, and that of Olivet in 1740. Olivet does not even pretend to furnish a text of his own, based upon a careful examination of manuscripts, as well as editions ; he took the editions of Victorius, Manutius, Lambin, and Gruter, followed them when they agreed with each other, and selected some one of them when they disagreed. We state, in his own words, what he says of the use of manuscripts ; " At enim, inquies, abstineri a codicibus manu scriptis non oportuit. Equidem, si res mihi sit cum scriptore plebeio, facile adducar, ut credam in bibliothecis latere chartas edentulas, quæ sint alicujus pretii. Verum de Cicerone quid esse spei reliquum potest, in quo jam a renascentium literarum seculo et typographicæ artis exortu studiosorum oculos ita defixit admiratio, ut quidquid in tenebris jaceret, eruere properaverint ? Atqui paucis post annis, et spirante adhuc Victorio, meliores unquam libros inveniri posse vix sperabant ; nunc, ne vix quidem." Orelli, not only one of the first classical scholars of the age, and eminent for his acumen and circumspection as a critic, but a

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man of liberal views, says of Olivet's edition ; " Sed ista ipsa Oliveti recensio, præter ceteras, quæ nomen aliquod nactæ sunt, est arbitraria, negligens, omnis generis erroribus referta, exiguo denique cum judicio suscepta." The edition of Ernesti, which appeared for the first time in 1737, is undoubtedly better than that of Olivet, although laboring under several defects. The great sin of Ernesti, as of other scholars since his time, was, that, having conceived some grammatical notions with regard to the language of Cicero, he did not hesitate to alter the text, in defiance of manuscripts and every other authority, whenever it was at variance with his preconceived ideas.

The situation of an American scholar in the exercise of classical criticism is, indeed, unfavorable. Our literary resources, though rapidly increasing, are still very incomplete. How few libraries are there in the country, which contain complete series of the principal editions of the Greek and Latin authors, not to mention manuscripts ! The distance of Europe, and the difficulty of procuring thence literary aid, are so great that, at present and for years to come, any independent and original activity on the part of American scholars in the field of classical criticism is scarcely to be thought of. But, such being the case, it is doubly the duty of one attempting to edit a classic, to avail himself of the assistance which is accessible to him. To use, in editing a work of Cicero, the text of Ernesti, or, what is still worse, the hybrid text of the Regent's edition, and scorn that of Orelli, seems to us an unjustifiable — we had almost said, wanton — disregard of what the scholarship of the nineteenth century has accomplished.

Our remarks, thus far, on the proper selection of a text, have had reference to the works of Cicero in general. Let us approach one step nearer, and see what are the available aids for preparing an edition of the " Tusculan Questions." There is, in the first place, the edition of Davis, a man whose name will ever be mentioned with respect by all who know any thing about the philosophical works of Cicero ; we do not, of course, mean the second edition (1723), in which the text of Bentley, with all his ingenious but bold emendations, was adopted, which Davis himself abandoned in his third edition (1730), and returned almost entirely to his first text. Next comes the edition of F. A. Wolf, that

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greatest of modern philologists, who boasted, and with reason too, that he could write as good Latin as Cicero himself; who actually entered the lists against him, by furnishing a rival translation of the well known passage from Phædo, introduced by Cicero into the first book (cap. 41) of the "Tusculan Questions"; and whose edition of the "Tusculan Questions," as well as his lectures on them, are rich mines of classical lore. There is, also, that pattern of an edition by Kühner, who afterward adopted the text of Orelli — no light testimony in favor of the merits of that great scholar. Finally, there is the edition of Moser, a remarkable specimen of patient critical investigation. To neglect aids like these, and turn in preference to the Regent's edition, is not even to stand still in the course of improvement, but to return to the errors and imperfections of a former age.

We could wish to illustrate our remarks on the text chosen by Mr. Dillaway, by examining some passages, but we must not encroach on the space wanted for some observations on his commentary. As it is, we shall not be able to extend our examination over the whole work. We prefer to subject a portion of it to a careful scrutiny, in order to judge thoroughly and fairly of Mr. Dillaway's production, and to show both to our readers and the editor, that we have attentively perused his work, and formed our opinion from something more than merely skimming over its pages. We select for our purpose the first book.

In preparing an edition of a classic for the use of schools and colleges, it is no easy matter to observe, both in the quantity and quality of the notes, a due medium between too much and too little. The same authors are sometimes used, in different institutions, at different stages of the student's progress. A commentary which may render the study of an author sufficiently easy for one kind of pupils, may not be full enough for another. The instructers, too, are of various qualifications; some may be able to furnish a necessary explanation, which the pupil does not find in his edition, while others are as dependent on the assistance of the editor, as the pupils themselves. The same difficulties present themselves in judging of the adaptation of an edition to its object, in determining what notes are needed, and whether the notes given are too numerous or too few. The safest, and, indeed, the only way is, to judge of the book by the book itself,

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to ascertain whether the editor is consistent in his supposition of the wants and resources of the student. If, for example, we find that common grammatical facts are explained, while nicer points, peculiarities of the writer or of his age, or of the class of writings to which the book belongs, are left unnoticed, or if the meaning of words and sentences which are comparatively easy is elucidated, while terms and passages presenting real difficulties are passed over in silence, we cannot avoid considering it as a very defective edition.

If we apply this fair rule to the commentary of the edition under consideration, we shall find it liable to considerable objections. In order to present the remarks, which we wish to make, in some kind of order, we shall arrange them in three groups, relating to the superfluities, deficiencies, and errors, of the commentary.

In the class of superfluous notes, we place a great portion of those relating to matters of history, biography, and antiquities. Some of them contain information which, we can reasonably suppose, is already possessed by pupils who read a book like this ; such are the enumeration of the higher deities (c. 13), the account of Phidias and his principal work (c. 15), the remark on the word *Avernus*, familiar to every schoolboy who has read Virgil (c. 16), the account of the golden fleece (c. 20), of the invention of the alphabet (c. 25), the remark on the use of garlands as an emblem of joy (c. 35), the account of the death of Brutus (c. 37), of the battle at Cannæ (c. 37), the note on embalming (c. 45), the account of the battle at Leuctra (c. 46). Other notes touch upon subjects which undoubtedly require explanation, but the information furnished is of too indefinite and unsatisfactory a description to be of much service. To this class belong those especially relating to the history of philosophy and literature, as on early poetry (c. 1), on Homer (c. 1),* on "sedens" and "ambulans" (c. 4). Here, indeed, we are altogether at a loss to understand what Mr. Dillaway means. Does he intend to insinuate that Cicero carried his method as an eclectic so far as to adopt the manners and

* To show, in one instance, what we mean, we will quote this note ; "Homer was born about 160 years after the destruction of Troy, and lived to the age of 104. So says Salianus; some think differently." What would Wolf and Nitzsch say to this?

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habits of the leading philosophers, as well as their tenets? We refer also to the notes on Roman funerals (c. 7), on Plato and his philosophy (c. 10), on atomical philosophy (c. 11), on Pyrrhus and Cyneas (c. 24), on the expression "quem Homerum philosophorum appellat" (c. 32) (where the point seems to be misapprehended), on Lysimachus (c. 43), and on Diogenes (c. 43).

Some of the notes, which contain references to other authors, are superfluous, either because they throw no light upon the passages to be explained, or they are inappropriate and inapposite. Of this kind is the note to "esset tamen miseriæ finis is morte" (c. 5); it is not easy to perceive what light the passage from Lucan, or the mention of the Ethics of Aristotle, throws upon the expression. The passage from Pliny (c. 9) does *not* prove the extension of the name Catus to all the Ælii, and is consequently superfluous. If the difference in the forms "corculum," used by Ennius and Cicero, and "corculus," used by Pliny, had been remarked upon, there would have been some object in the quotation. In the note on the opinion of Xenocrates (c. 10), not only the superfluity, but also the form of the quotation is to be noticed. Who would suspect, that, by Lucullus, Cicero is meant, who in one of the Academics puts this expression into the mouth of Lucullus, the principal interlocutor, from whom the book itself is named? The quotations from Hieronymus (c. 12), from Pliny (c. 20), and from Juvenal (c. 22), might all have been omitted.

A more striking instance of an inapposite quotation is in c. 24. Neither the passage in Plautus, nor the one in Virgil, is precisely to the point. All three passages are, indeed, instances of *attraction*, but in a different degree. In this passage, and in similar ones, the subject of the relative clause becomes the object of the main clause; "Nam *sanguinem*, *bilem*, *pituitam*, *ossa*, *nervos*, *venas*, *omnem* denique membrorum et totius corporis *figuram* videor posse *dicere*, unde concreta, et quo modo facta sint"; instead of "Nam *sanguis*, *bilis*, *pituita*, *ossa*, *nervi*, *venæ*, *omnis* denique membrorum et totius corporis *figura*, videor posse dicere, unde concreta, et quo modo facta sint." This kind of attraction occurs particularly with the verbs "dicere," "intelligere," "opinari," "metuere"; it is used in the language of common conversation, and occurs, therefore, fre-

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quently in the comic writers, and sometimes in the familiar treatises and letters of Cicero. De Nat. Deor. 1, 26, would have been a passage in point; "*Istud* quasi *corpus* et *sanguinem*, quid sit, *intelligis*"; but, as there is a difference in the reading, we add another instance; Cic. Fam. 4, 1; "*Rem vides*, quo modo se habeat." It would lead us too far, to enter upon an explanation of passages such as those quoted from Plautus and Virgil. Suffice it to say, that both are instances of a bolder kind of attraction, inasmuch as "Hos" and "urbem" adopt the case of "quos" and "quam," without being grammatically dependent on any verb or preposition.

In conclusion of this portion of our remarks, we point out two more quotations of a similar description; one from Ovid, to the "sphæra" of Archimedes (c. 25), and the other from Virgil, where we are again at a loss to understand what resemblance there is between the "duæ viæ" of Cicero, or rather Socrates, and the two roads mentioned in Virgil's description of the infernal regions.

To show how advantageously the space occupied by such superfluous or unsatisfactory notes might have been filled by others more useful, we will now turn to the second class of remarks, relating to the deficiencies or omissions of the commentary, and mention some passages wherein the assistance of the editor would have been appropriate and desirable to both older and younger readers. We regret especially the absence of notes pointing out and explaining many remarkable peculiarities of language. The book being a schoolbook, the object of the editor should have been not merely to confine himself to a meagre explanation of it, but to make it the occasion and vehicle of observations calculated to enlarge the student's general knowledge of the language. We shall mention several passages as affording opportunities of this kind, but enter upon a full discussion of only a few. C. 1; "et cum omnium artium, quæ ad rectam vivendi viam pertinerent, ratio et disciplina *studio* sapientiæ, *quæ philosophia* dicitur, contineretur"; here is a peculiarity of the Latin language, making "quæ" agree with "philosophia," instead of "studio," which is, logically, its antecedent. In the same chapter; "Jam *illa*, quæ natura, non literis, assecuti sunt, neque cum *Græcia* neque *ulla cum gente* sunt conferenda"; and "quæ tam *excellens* in

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omni genere *virtus* in ullis fuit, ut sit cum *majoribus nostris* comparanda"; — instances of shortened comparison. C. 2; "At nos metiendi *ratiocinandique* utilitate hujus artis terminavimus modum"; a note might have been of service here. Mr. Otis, who has furnished the only English translation of this work, as far as we know, unless we consider as such a very incorrect attempt at a translation, which has lately appeared in one of our periodicals, misapprehends this sentence; he translates: "But we have advanced the limits of this art no further than its uses in surveying and *reasoning*," instead of "we have cultivated the science no further than it is useful in measuring and *calculating*." Notes would be useful at c. 4, on the meaning of "declamitare," and of "ad," in the sentence "ad id disputabam"; and at c. 6, on the meaning of "narrare," and, c. 7, of "imbutus"; also, in the same chapter, on the sentence, "*Omne pronunciatum* (sic enim mihi in præsentia occurrit, ut appellarem ἀξίωμα; utar post alio, si invenero melius) *id ergo est pronunciatum, quod* est verum aut falsum," — an anacoluthon.

No one, who has read with any attention the philosophical works of Cicero, can have failed to notice the frequency of this anomalous formation of a sentence, and perceive that it arises from the easy conversational language in those treatises, allowing this graceful and pleasing irregularity, which would be out of place in a more elaborate form of composition. Kühner observes, very correctly; "Quod quidem negligentius dicendi genus cave putes ex scriptorum oscitantia et incogitantia ortum esse; immo vero dubitari vix potest, quin summi illi scriptores hanc negligentiam arte quadam ac dedita opera quæsiverint, eo quidem consilio, ut dialogorum rationem ad sermonum, quales colloquentes inter se spargunt, formam et veram naturam fingerent." It is not a little surprising, that, of all the anacolutha occurring in this book, some of which are quite striking, and by no means readily understood by a young student, not one is taken notice of. We shall mention the several instances, and make a few remarks upon them.

The anacoluthon is one of the points of Latin grammar, which, like so many others, has received more attention since a new impulse was given, through Wolf and his pupils and fellow-laborers, to the study of Greek grammar. Every

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one acquainted with Greek knows how important a part the anacoluthon plays in the formation of Greek sentences. We refer those who may wish to refresh their knowledge of this subject, among other works, to Robinson's excellent translation of Buttmann's larger Grammar. Among modern Latin grammarians, Reisig and Grotefend are to be mentioned, as having treated most satisfactorily of this subject.

It is to be observed, in this place, that many editors of the works of Cicero, not understanding the nature, or not appreciating the advantage, of the anacoluthon, have attempted to alter the text, and, in no respect, perhaps, appears the superiority of the editions of Orelli, Zumpt, Kühner, Moser, and Wolf, more clearly than in those passages in which an anacoluthon occurs.

An anacoluthon is a sentence, the end of which does not grammatically correspond to the commencement. The occasion for using this liberty is, either the intervention of a parenthetical clause, or the great length of the first member of the sentence, especially when increased by dependent clauses, so that the reader may be supposed to have forgotten the form of the first member of the sentence. There are several classes of anacolutha, of which we will mention two. The first is, when, after the intervention of an intermediate clause, the continuation of the sentence is connected with, or made dependent on, the intermediate clause, instead of the first part of the main sentence. An anacoluthon of this description partakes, therefore, in some measure, of the nature of an attraction. An instance of this kind is in c. 30; "Itaque commemorat, ut cygni," etc.; but, as it is one of those passages in which Mr. Dillaway has adopted the inferior reading of Olivet, "cygnis," in preference to Ernesti's text, we shall pass it by. We shall simply observe, that Lambin, being disturbed by the irregular progress of the sentence, if the reading "cygni," which is supported by the best manuscripts, were retained, changed it into "cygnis," an emendation which was adopted only by Bouhier and, through him, by Olivet. Another instance is in c. 36; "Hoc premendum etiam atque etiam est argumentum, *confirmato illo*, de quo, si mortales animi sunt, *dubitare non possumus*, *quin* tantus interitus in morte sit, ut ne minima quidem suspicio sensus relinquatur." The clause, "quin tantus interitus in morte sit," is made dependent on

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"dubitare non possumus," in the intermediate clause, instead of running thus, "tantum interitum in morte esse"; it being in fact dependent on "confirmato illo."

The second class of anacolutha occurs when the second member of the sentence neither depends on the intermediate clause, nor corresponds, grammatically, to the first member. The first instance of this kind, occurring in this book, is the above, in c. 7; "Omne pronunciatum," etc. If constructed regularly, the sentence would continue, after the parenthesis, "verum est aut falsum."

A very striking case of this kind of anacoluthon is in c. 13, in which Mr. Dillaway again adopts the imperfect pointing of Olivet, instead of the better one of Ernesti. The passage, according to Orelli, is; "Ut porro firmissimum hoc afferri videtur, cur deos esse credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam sit immanis, cujus mentem non imbuerit deorum opinio; — multi de diis prava sentiunt (id enim vitioso more effici solet); omnes tamen esse vim et naturam divinam arbitrantur; nec vero id collocutio hominum aut consensus effecit, non institutis opinio est confirmata, non legibus (omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda est): — quis est igitur, qui suorum mortem primum non eo lugeat, quod eos orbatos vitæ commodis arbitretur? Tolle hanc opinionem; luctum sustuleris. Nemo enim mæret suo incommodo; dolent fortasse et anguntur; sed illa lugubris lamentatio fletusque mærens ex eo est, quod eum, quem dileximus, vitæ commodis privatum arbitramur idque sentire." The argument of the passage runs thus; "As the existence of gods is proved by the fact, that no nation is found without the idea of a deity, (though this idea may, from various causes, be very imperfect), so the immortality of the soul is proved by the fact, that every one laments the death of his friends, because he thinks that they are deprived of the blessings of life, and conscious of that deprivation." It is apparent, that the regular continuation of the sentence would have run, instead of "quis est igitur," etc., "sic permanere animos arbitramur consensu omnium." Forgetting that he commenced the sentence with a particle of comparison, Cicero gives to the apodosis, or second member, — which should correspond to the "ut firmissimum hoc afferri videtur," and, therefore, proceed with "sic," — the form of a question. The difficulty and obscurity of the

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passage are increased, in the first place, by the circumstance, that the parenthesis, belonging to the first member, contains another parenthesis within itself, beginning with "nec vero"; and, secondly, that the apodosis does not proceed straight on, but is, in its turn, interrupted by a second anacoluthon. The regular progress would be; "quis est, qui suorum mortem primum non eo lugeat, quod eos orbatos vitæ commodis arbitretur, deinde quod eos vitæ commodis privatos se sentire (arbitretur)." It will be perceived, that, instead of pursuing this, its natural course, the sentence is broken in upon by the parenthetical clauses, "Tolle hanc opinionem; luctum sustuleris. Nemo enim mæret suo incommodo; dolent fortasse et anguntur"; and, instead of continuing, as was clearly indicated, by the "primum non eo, quod," etc., it closes with a second anacoluthon, "sed illa lugubris," etc. Is it not remarkable, that a passage which, as our readers will perceive, taxes the knowledge, judgment, and attention of a mature scholar, is left without any explanation whatever? Neither the thought, nor he language, elicits any remark. Mr. Otis fails, in h s translation, to bring out with sufficient clearness the point of the argument.

Another anacoluthon occurs, c. 22; "Quasi vero intelligant, qualis sit in ipso corpore, quæ conformatio, quæ magnitudo, qui locus; *ut*, si jam possent in homine vivo cerni omnia, quæ nunc tecta sunt, *casurusne* in conspectum videatur animus, an tanta sit ejus tenuitas, ut fugiat aciem"; instead of, "casurus esse in conspectum videatur." The "ut" is forgotten or neglected, and the sentence, which ought to depend upon it, is turned into a question.

The next anacoluthon occurs, c. 28 and 29. The passage is too long to be copied entire; we shall give the leading clauses only; "*Ut*, cum videmus speciem . . . . . hæc igitur et alia innumerabilia cum cernimus, *possumusne* dubitare, quin his præsit aliquis vel effector, si hæc nata sunt, ut Platoni videtur, vel, si semper fuerunt, ut Aristoteli placet, moderator tanti operis et muneris? Sic *mentem* hominis, quamvis eam non videas, ut deum non vides; tamen, ut deum agnoscis ex operibus ejus, sic ex memoria rerum et inventione et celeritate motus omnique pulchritudine virtutis, *vim divinam mentis* agnoscito." The argument is; "As we infer from the organization and government of the world, that a creator or ruler presides over it, although we cannot

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see him ; so we infer the divine nature of the mind, although we cannot see it, from its manifestations." "Possumusne dubitare," is instead of "non possumus dubitare," belonging to "ut," at the commencement of the passage. This instance, although not so complicated by far as the one previously mentioned, in c. 13, resembles it in the formation of its second member, the latter containing a second anacoluthon, "sic mentem hominis . . . . . vim divinam mentis agnoscito," instead of "sic mentem hominis . . . . . divinam esse agnoscito."

C. 30. "Quod iis sæpe usu venit, *qui cum* acriter oculis deficientem solem *intuerentur*, *ut* adspectum omnino amitterent ;" either for "qui, cum acriter oculis deficientem solem intuerentur, adspectum omnino amiserunt," or "qui acriter oculis deficientem solem intuentur, ut adspectum omnino amitterent." In this instance, Mr. Dillaway has, very properly, followed Ernesti, instead of Olivet, the latter partly adopting the reading of Lambin, who, in opposition to the manuscripts, altered the text thus ; "Qui acribus oculis." Olivet has, "qui acriter oculis," still omitting "cum."

C. 41. "Quamobrem *sive* sensus exstinguitur, morsque ei somno similis est, qui nonnunquam etiam sine visis somniorum placatissimam quietem affert ; dii boni, quid lucri est emori ! aut quam multi dies reperiri possunt, qui tali nocti anteponantur ! Cui si similis futura est perpetuitas omnis consequentis temporis, quis me beatior ? *Sin* vera sunt, quæ dicuntur," etc. "Sin vera sunt" is here used instead of "sive vera sunt" ; corresponding to "sive sensus," etc.

We have thus, purposely, dwelt somewhat at length upon several instances of the anacoluthon, in order to show that the cases of this anomalous construction are both sufficiently frequent and difficult to deserve some notice. We will now go on to treat, as briefly as possible, of some other omissions.

C. 8. "ut Siculi"; the twofold meaning of "ut," in elliptical expressions like the present, should be noticed, either corroborative, "as may be naturally supposed, since he was a Sicilian," or qualifying, as "considering that he was a Sicilian," "as far as a Sicilian can be so." In this instance, "ut" is used in the former, corroborative, sense. This is a use of "ut" which is frequently misapprehended. There is a striking instance of it in Hor. Sat. I. 6, 79 ; "In magno *ut* populo," "in as far as this (namely, to notice an individ-

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ual) is possible in so great a population." It is erroneously explained in Anthon's edition. We will mention one other passage where, as in that from Horace, "ut" is used in a qualifying sense; Cic. de Senect. c. 4. "Multæ etiam, *ut* in homine Romano, literæ"; "great literary cultivation, considering that he was a Roman," or "as far as this can be expected of a Roman." Mr. Dillaway, in his edition of that treatise, has taken no notice of the expression.

Notes are needed, also, at the following passages. C. 8. "Quoniam, si (or 'Quia, quoniam,' according to the best editions and manuscripts) post mortem nihil est mali, ne mors quidem est malum; *cui proximum tempus est post mortem*, in quo mali nihil esse concedis." C. 11. "sed est difficile *confundere*." C. 13. "Tum denique, quam hoc *late pateat*, intelliges"; this expression is twice explained in Mr. Dillaway's edition of "De Officiis"; once (1, 2,) incorrectly, and once (1, 8,) correctly. C. 13. "nemo enim *mœret*"; the difference of "mæreo" and "doleo." C. 14. "Specimen." C. 15. "Quid in hac re publica tot tantosque viros, ob rem publicam interfectos, *cogitasse* arbitramur? iisdemne *ut* finibus nomen suum, quibus vita, terminaretur?" "ut" is dependent on "cogitasse." C. 15. "cum *inscribere* non liceret"; which Mr. Otis mistranslates. C. 16. "*Cujus* ignoratio"; "cujus" is the subjective genitive, referring to "ratione," "whose imperfect cultivation." Mr. Otis's translation is incorrect. In the same chapter, "νεκρομαντεῖα faciebat"; is νεκρομαντεῖα used in its literal signification, "places for practising necromancy," and does "faciebat" mean *constructed*, or is it used for "utebatur," *he made use of?* A note is wanted for the phrase "salso sanguine," in the poetical quotation immediately following. Although we are by no means in favor of burdening the edition of an author, destined for the use of schools, with critical notes and investigations, yet there are exceptions, and this passage is one. Several manuscripts and most editions, especially the older, have "salso." In this case, "salso sanguine" is to be connected with "excitantur." Orelli retains "salso" in his text, but declares himself in favor of "falso," unless "cassæ" (belonging to "imagines") should be found to be the true reading. Moser has "falso" in the text, without making even a remark. "Salso" is explained "by a victim ('sanguis' standing

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poetically for 'hostia') strewed with salt ('mola'); or simply as an *epitheton ornans*, like 'salsæ lacrimæ.' 'False sanguine,' *without real blood*." Mr. Otis mistranslates, "defiled with gore." C. 17. "*ad* universi cœli complexum"; Mr. Otis translates correctly, "in comparison to." "Quatuor omnia gignentium corporum." "Momenta," *motions*, or *laws of motion*. Mr. Otis's translation is unintelligible. "Ad pares angulos," *perpendicularly*. Mr. Otis translates, "at equal angles." "Illæ superiores." "Non nominata magis, quam non intellecta"; correctly translated by Mr. Otis. C. 19. "ignibus," which Mr. Otis translates by "fires." C. 20. "Etenim, si nunc aliquid *assequi* se putant, qui ostium Ponti viderunt"; the present infinitive, "assequi," for the perfect, "assecutos esse," though a precise expression of the thought would require the latter. In the same section, "nisi id agat." This idiomatic expression, which occurs not infrequently, is nowhere explained. Mr. Otis mistranslates it, "unless *it* acts and attends"; "id" is not the nominative, but accusative. C. 22. "illa ratio." C. 25. "institiones." C. 26. "*nec* in deo"; "nec" with the force of "ne quidem." In the same section, "ut Jovi *bibere* ministraret." C. 27. "quæ sola divina sunt," "which has no other than a divine nature"; "sola" belonging to "divina," not to "quæ." C. 28. "quamquam *id* quoque"; "id" referring to "videre formam suam." Mr. Otis's translation is obscure. C. 29. "Muneris," *exhibition*, *spectacle*, transferred from the amphitheatrical shows to the universe. "Nec interire *igitur*"; the unusual position of "igitur" after the second word is to be noticed, of which but few instances occur. "Diremptus," an old form for "diremptio." C. 31. "Tantum autem abest ab eo, ut malum mors sit, quod tibi dudum videbatur, ut verear, ne homini nihil sit non malum aliud certe, sed nihil bonum aliud potius; si quidem vel dii ipsi, vel cum diis futuri sumus," one of the most difficult passages in the whole book, is passed by without any comment. C. 35. "honoratis." Mr. Otis, following the reading "honoratus," renders it "honored"; the word signifies "having held high offices," "honores." "Justa uxore." "*Nimirum* etiam Puteolani"; the ironical force of "nimirum." C. 36. "Valet hoc in vivis; mortuorum autem *non modo* vitæ commodis, sed ne vita quidem ipsa quisquam caret"; "non modo," for "non

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modo non," when followed by "ne quidem." C. 38. "non modo ipse." C. 39. "Cur." C. 42. "sine mutuatione et sine versura." C. 43. "si quid ei accidisset. C. 44. "At *illa* sicut acerbissimam rem mæret. Et *aliquando* sapiens Achilles. Cum multi inimicos etiam mortuos *pœniantur*." C. 45. "Quantum autem consuetudini *famæque dandum sit*, id curent vivi." C. 46. "inutile." C. 48. "*Repetunt ab* Erechtheo."

Many of the passages above mentioned have been only named, without a word of comment; for our object is not to write notes to the "Tusculan Questions," but to give our opinion of those of Mr. Dillaway.

Having thus stated both what the editor has done in his commentary, and what he has left undone, we may leave the case in the hands of our readers. From a comparison of the notes furnished by the editor, and those which should have been furnished, but are not, it will appear that the commentary is defective in consistency and uniformity. We beg our readers to recollect, that we do not set up a standard of our own, as to what the commentary should have accomplished, but we take the editor's own grounds. He has shown, by his own notes, what class of readers he had in view. If, in the passages explained by him, the pupil required his assistance, much more does he need it in those pointed out by us as neglected. Or, if the latter might be supposed to be intelligible without any aid of the editor, much more might the same supposition be made for the former. The book, it seems to us, is, in some measure, open to the charge, which can justly be made against so many editions of classical authors, of explaining at large easy matters, and leaving real difficulties unnoticed.

We must say a few words, in the last place, on those points wherein we think the editor is in error. C. 5. Concerning the meaning of the letters *M.* and *A.* Mr. Dillaway remarks; "Some commentators think that Cicero and Pomponius are the interlocutors in this dialogue." This is true; some do think so, but the passage quoted in support of this opinion, at most, proves only that *M.* refers to Cicero; it does not prove that *A.* refers to Atticus. Besides, after saying so much, Mr. Dillaway should have said a little more; namely, that other commentators not only explain the letter *A.* differently, (some "adolescens," others "audi-

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tor), but they object expressly to making it refer to Atticus. Davis observes, very justly, that Atticus was at that time an old man, and the expression, "at tu adolescens" (2, 12), as well as the character of the dialogue, shows plainly that the second interlocutor is a young man.

C. 9. "Aliis cor ipsum animus videtur." The editor says; "This was the common opinion of the Romans in the time of Cicero." Whence does the editor know this? C. 10. The editor explains the term "vulgo," by *common* opinions. What does he mean? "Vulgo" is evidently contrasted with "singuli," and signifies, therefore, *sects*, as "singuli" means *individual* philosophers. C. 13. "majorum gentium dii"; can there be any doubt that Cicero uses the term, "majorum gentium," as applying to the twelve higher deities, metaphorically?

C. 13. The editor explains the passage, "reminiscere, quoniam es initiatus, quæ traduntur mysteriis," — "recollect, since you have *begun* to be *imbued* with the knowledge of sacred things, what is delivered in the mysteries of *our* religion." The sense is; "Recollect, since you have been *initiated*, what is taught in the (Eleusinian) mysteries." There is nothing which means, "to begin to be imbued with knowledge," nor were the Eleusinian mysteries a part of the Roman religion, to which alone the expression, "our religion," could be applied. There are traces of a tradition that Ceres was buried at Eleusis.

C. 17. "In sublime ferri." The editor says; "Hence it follows, that they consider the soul corporeal, being one of the elements." Are we to understand that the soul is one of the elements, or what does it mean? In the same section; "Horum *igitur* aliquid animus est, *nec* tam vegeta mens aut in corde cerebrove, aut in Empedocleo sanguine demersa *jaceat*." We remark, in the first place, that both Olivet and Ernesti, from whom Mr. Dillaway's text is said to be derived, have "ne," instead of "nec." Now as to the interpretation. Mr. Dillaway explains the sentence thus; "Nor *does* a mind, so active in its nature, lie immersed in the heart, or the brain, or, according to Empedocles, in the blood." The import of the passage is misapprehended. It is this; "The mind, then, is some one of these (that is, 'igneus' or 'animalis,' or of that fifth, nameless, element); *do* not imagine, that, being of

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so active a nature, it is immersed," etc. The subjunctive "jaceat" seems to have been overlooked; or, it may be, that the note is derived from an edition which reads, "nec jacet" (for there are several which have this reading), while the text is that of another. As to Bouhier's emendation, mentioned by Mr. Dillaway, substituting "esto" for "est," "because the consequence implied in 'Horum *igitur* aliquid animus est' does not necessarily follow from what has been said before," the best thing we can do is to quote what Moser says of it; "Bouhierius, nescio quid absurditatis subodorans, conjecit, *horum igitur aliquid animus esto*, quia non recte intelligebat vocem *igitur*, quam dictam existimabat pro *ergo*, ut sit quasi conclusio syllogismi, huic loco non conveniens. Quem refutare necessarium non est."

C. 18. "quorum alter ne condoluisse quidem unquam videtur, *qui* animum se habere non *sentiat*." What does the editor, or rather Pearce, from whom the remark is borrowed, mean, when he says; "In this reading, Cicero does not tell us *why* Dicæarchus was not affected by grief"? What else does, or can, "qui," with the subjunctive "sentiat," mean, than *because he did not perceive?* Mr. Otis translates correctly, though stiffly; "One of whom appears never to have even lamented, that he could not perceive himself to have a soul."

C. 24. "'esset.' This word is to be understood in the Platonic, not in the popular sense." Are we to understand that Plato alone, and his disciples, used the verb εἶναι and "esse" in this sense, or what is meant by the "Platonic sense"? C. 25. "'nec me pudet, ut *istos*, fateri nescire, quod nesciam'; 'ut istos,' the disciples of Socrates." Not the disciples of Socrates, but other philosophers, are referred to, who, ashamed to acknowledge their ignorance, pretend to know what the soul is; *I am not ashamed, as those are, to acknowledge my ignorance.* C. 33. "'ut ego me tardiorem esse non moleste feram'; 'so that I bear with repining.'" We suppose this to be a misprint for "*without* repining."

C. 35. "Cum in *aram* confugisset." The editor says; "A large altar stood in the open court *before* the door of Priam's palace," and quotes Virg. Æn. 2, 500 – 25. But that very passage, v. 512, shows that the altar spoken of was in a court *within* the palace, the "impluvium" of the Roman house, and that Priam and his family were not ex-

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posed to the ruthless violence of Neoptolemus until the entrance to the palace was forced. In the same section; "'vitam evitari'; 'invitare' and 'evitare' anciently meant, 'to deprive of life,' and also, 'to take away.'" Where and when does "invitare" mean "to deprive of life"? As to "evitare," it may be derived from "vita," and signify, *to deprive of life;* but others consider it a compound of "vitare," which has the signification, to *take away*, and also to *avoid*. See Schwenck's "Etymological Lexicon."

C. 41. "'summi regis'; Achilles." This is probably a misprint for Agamemnon. In the same section; "'nihil autem melius extremo'; 'but nothing *pleased* me more.'" Why use the past tense, in speaking of a work which is before Cicero, and from which he has just made a long quotation? Is it a misprint for *pleases?*

C. 44. "Ecce alius exoritur e terra, qui matrem dormire non sinat." It would have been well, if the editor had here consulted his friend Bouhier. The person referred to is neither Memnon, nor Polydorus, but Deiphilus, as is the case also in Hor. Sat. II. 3, 60, where Heindorf furnishes the correct explanation. The passage quoted is not from the "Hecuba" of Euripides, where the shade of Polydorus appears to his mother Hecuba; but from the "Iliona" of Pacuvius, who followed a different tradition, given in Hyginus; according to which, Iliona, Priam's daughter, was married to Polymnestor, king of Thrace, and had by him a son, Deiphilus. Anxious for the safety of her brother Polydorus, who had been intrusted to her care by his parents, she exchanged the two children. After the destruction of Troy, Polymnestor, bribed by the Greeks, murdered his own son, supposing him to be Polydorus. In the tragedy of Pacuvius, the ghost of Deiphilus appears to his mother, and calls upon her to bury his body.

In point of typographical correctness, these volumes are quite respectable. Besides some instances, which we have mentioned as mistakes of the press, rather than of the editor, we have noticed only a few misprints; as, on page 152, lines 6 and 13, for 18, read 17; p. 155, l. 5, for "German," read "Greek"; p. 157, l. 15, for ἐντλέχεια read ἐντελέχεια; p. 163, l. 9, for "temples," read "temple"; on the same page, in the last line, for ὄρνισ read ὄρνις; p. 173, l. 17, for "stars," read "planets."

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We now close our remarks. By adopting the course which we have followed, of subjecting a portion of the book to a careful examination, we have, as we think, aided the reader in forming a just estimate of its merits, far more than by commenting in general terms on the whole. We have given, what an ingenuous and independent reader wants, — facts. We can, moreover, assure our readers, that, if they have made themselves acquainted with the character of this part of the book, they know that of the whole, and even of the preceding volumes of the series. Mr. Dillaway certainly adheres strictly to his original plan. Whatever the merits or defects of the plan may be, they characterize each volume of the series. We speak advisedly on this subject; we have carefully examined all the volumes hitherto published, and could, if there were need, easily make good our statement.

We have given our views of Mr. Dillaway's labors with perfect frankness. He is laboring in a field, the right cultivation of which we deem of vital importance to the cause of sound learning. We have all, years ago, heard many and loud outcries against the study of the classics as a part of a liberal education. At that time, we expressed, in another place, our humble opinion, that this hostility was, in some measure, provoked by the imperfect manner in which classical studies were then pursued. But matters have, for some years, been improving. We can clearly perceive great ameliorations in the classical department of our schools and colleges, and proofs of a praiseworthy activity. The greater this activity is, the more important is it that it should receive and preserve a right direction. To contribute something to this end has been our object in these remarks.

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ART. V. — 1. *Elements of Physiology*, by J. MÜLLER, M. D., Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the University of Berlin, etc. *Translated from the German, with Notes*, by WILLIAM BALY, M. D., Graduate in Medicine of the University of Berlin. Illustrated with Plates and numerous Wood Engravings. Second Edition, with Corrections and numerous Additions. London: Taylor and Walton. 1840 and 1842. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1715.

2. *Elements of Physiology*, by J. MÜLLER, M. D., etc.; arranged from the Second London Edition, by JOHN BELL, M. D., Lecturer on Materia Medica, &c. Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard. 1843. 1 vol. 8vo.

ONE of the great characteristics of the present state of natural science is the elucidation which its different departments are capable of affording to each other. In the application of comparative anatomy to geology, we have a striking illustration of this proposition. These two sciences, which appear, at first sight, so distinct and unconnected, the object of the one being to determine the laws of animal organization, and of the other to ascertain the structure of the earth, and the changes which it has undergone, are yet most intimately united, and afford indispensable aid to each other. Comparative anatomy determines, with unerring accuracy, the nature of the extinct races of animals, remains of which are found almost everywhere in the superficial crust of the earth; and geology spreads out before the anatomist a far more extended view of animal organization than could be learned by studying only the existing species. Great as have been the results of the application of this science to geological investigation, there can be no doubt that its importance will be still more enhanced, in consequence of the light which it has already begun to throw on the science of Physiology in general, and especially on the physiology of man.

As a department of natural science, human physiology has been slow and variable in its progress; not, however, from the want of a sufficient number of laborers, or from inadequate zeal on the part of those who have devoted themselves to it; but rather from the want of a philosophical

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method in physiological inquiry, as well as from the difficulty which organized beings, through the obscure nature of their properties, and the complexity of the combinations of their parts, are constantly throwing in the way of the student. Since the great impulse given to zoölogical and anatomical pursuits by the gigantic labors of John Hunter in England, and the more extended researches of Cuvier in France, a better day seems at length to have dawned. The vain speculations of the old school of physiologists with regard to the functions of organs, founded, for the most part, on gratuitous assumptions, have given way to more rational methods of inquiry. The physiologist of the present day seeks other and better sources of information, and finds the laboratory of the chemist, the hospital, and the dissecting-room, unfailing sources of light and truth. He no longer contents himself with studying human organization, but receives aid at every step from investigating that of the lower orders of animals. Anatomists had labored long and hard in their attempts to ascertain the functions and comparative importance of different organs ; to this end, they have subjected animals without number to the cruel tortures of vivisection, and, after all, have met, in most instances, with indifferent success. The result would doubtless have been very different, had they studied, with equal zeal, the numerous forms and varieties of structure which comparative anatomy now unfolds to our view, and which constitute to the eye of the true observer, as Cuvier has well remarked, " so many kinds of experiments, already prepared by Nature, who adds or takes away different parts, just as we might wish to do in our laboratories, and shows us, at the same time, the various results."

The most extended researches into animal organization have shown, that, however great may be the difference between those creatures which severally constitute the great divisions of the animal kingdom, the anatomical structure of all the members of one division is formed on the same general plan. Such, for instance, is the case with the Vertebrate, Articulate, and Radiate classes. Ascending from organization to the laws which regulate its action, we find that there is sufficient ground for the belief, that the general laws of vitality are the same throughout the whole animal creation, and one of the most distinguished English physiologists

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of the present day goes so far as to say, that "it is a great mistake to suppose that there is any thing fundamentally different in the character of the vital operations, as performed in the animal and vegetable structures, or in the simpler and more complicated organisms of either kingdom."* At all events, it appears perfectly clear that an enlarged and comprehensive idea of life and organization can only be acquired by investigating the varied phenomena presented by organized beings, in whatever form or whatever degree of development they may be found to exist.

To the German school of physiologists belongs the credit of having introduced into their systems the structure and functions of the organs of the lower orders of animals, in illustration of that of man. Although we find, in the works of Tiedemann and others, ample use made of the light furnished by comparative anatomy, yet we are not aware that any one, either in Germany or in any other country of Europe, has done so much in this respect as Müller, who is confessedly at the head of the German school.

Every page of his work on Physiology shows that no means of investigation have been allowed to escape him, which were capable of affording aid. Physics, organic chemistry, the comparative anatomy of plants and animals, all lend a helping hand in unravelling the secrets of human organization. We know of no work which is better calculated to illustrate the truth of the proposition at the head of this article, nor one which more fully confirms the often quoted remark of Cicero respecting the common bond which unites all the arts and sciences. In the present notice, we do not propose to enter into any thing like an analysis of the work, which is so concisely written as scarcely to allow even of abridgment, but rather to take up some detached subjects, which may prove interesting to the general reader.

The work begins with "general prolegomena," in which we find an exposition of the general properties of organic beings, and of the characteristics by which animal and vegetable organisms are distinguished from each other, together with some considerations on the manifestation and evolution

* Carpenter's *Principles of General and Comparative Physiology.* 2d Edition. London, 1841. p. 4.

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in living beings of the imponderable agents, light, heat, and electricity. On two of these subjects we propose to offer a few remarks ; and first, on a subdivision of one of them, relating to the theory of Equivocal or Spontaneous Generation.

It is now generally admitted with regard to all organized beings, whether animals or plants, the most simple and least known only excepted, that one of the characteristics by which they are distinguished from inert brute matter is the fact, that they owe their origin to other beings precisely similar to themselves, and of which they are the true offspring. The opposite ground, however, is maintained by the advocates of spontaneous or equivocal generation; namely, that living organisms do make their appearance in places where no similar being ever existed before. This is the remnant of a doctrine which has come down to us from remote antiquity, when it was considered applicable to the primeval state of the whole animal kingdom ; but its adherents were obliged to admit, that animals, having been once spontaneously generated, were afterwards capable of producing their like. Empedocles and Epicurus both embraced the doctrine, that all living beings originally came from the bosom of the mother earth, after which, each produced its like ; but they also admitted, that some of the lower orders, such as insects, were derived from the decayed bodies of other animals.* This theory, so far as it regards the greater portion of the invertebrate classes, was not abandoned till after the middle of the seventeenth century, when Harvey took up the defence of the doctrine of "*omne vivum ex ovo.*" The experiments of Redi, also, which were subsequently performed, were an important step in the progress of accurate knowledge, and overthrew, finally and decisively, the whole theory in relation to the insect race. He proved, by a series of experiments conducted in the most rigid and philosophical manner, that the worms or maggots, which swarm on the dead carcasses of animals, were nothing else than the larvæ, or immature and untransformed young, of true insects. He also succeeded in proving conclusively, that the larvæ themselves were produced from eggs deposited by flies or

* Redi, *Experimenta circa Generationem Insectorum*, p. 11.

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other insects; and he witnessed their transitions through all the different stages, from the egg to the perfect state.

Although this was perfectly conclusive, as regards insects, yet the discoveries of Needham and others, by means of the microscope, soon afforded the advocates of the doctrine of equivocal generation a new and strongly fortified position, and one which they have continued to hold till the present time, though it is now so much weakened as to be scarcely any longer tenable. The experiments of Needham, Spallanzani, and others, demonstrated, that, during the decomposition of various organic matters, animal as well as vegetable, myriads of microscopic beings, now familiarly known as Infusory animalcules, made their appearance under such circumstances that it was impossible to trace their origin to other preëxistent beings similar to themselves. It was inferred, therefore, that their origin was spontaneous. Spallanzani labored hard to disprove this inference, but his experiments were not conducted in such a manner as to afford a rigid demonstration of the points which he intended to establish. But, in justice to this great naturalist, we are bound to admit, that the results of his observations have been confirmed by recent inquiries, even in cases which had been considered as wholly unworthy of credit. Ehrenberg, although he has sometimes refused, on insufficient grounds, to admit some of Spallanzani's observations, which have been quite recently repeated with success, has done more than other observers with the microscope, of the present day, to clear up the darkness which hung over the different races of animalcules; and the results of his investigations, so far as they go, are powerful arguments against the theory of the equivocal origin of these races. At present, the whole argument for the doctrine of equivocal generation rests upon facts furnished by microscopic organisms, as yet but little known or studied, and by that singular race of beings, inhabiting the interior of other animals, the Entozoa, whose history, from the obscurity of their situation, is necessarily but little understood. Although, in these cases, science is yet incapable of demonstrating their origin from preëxisting beings similar to themselves, still, the remark made by Cuvier, more than thirty years ago, is not less true at the present day, that, "although the impossibility of spontaneous generation cannot be absolutely demonstrated, yet all the

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efforts of those physiologists who believe in the possibility of it have not succeeded in showing us a single instance." *

We come next to speak of the argument which is founded on the animalcules of Infusions. If a certain amount of animal or vegetable matter is placed in water, and exposed to the action of light and air at the common temperature of summer, we find, that, at the end of a few days, the decomposition of the organic matter has commenced, and that certain species of microscopic animalcules have made their appearance. Perhaps, at the same time, certain microscopic vegetable growths, such as moulds, confervæ, or simple detached cellules, become visible on the surface. These possess all the properties common to organic beings, and the question naturally presents itself, From what are they derived? Are they spontaneously generated from decomposing organic matter, or are they derived from *ova*, which previously existed in a latent state, and have now, for the first time, found a *nidus* favorable to their development? Supposing them to be derived from *ova*, are these contained in the organic matter undergoing the process of decomposition, or do they come from the water, or the air?

"Wrisberg observed that no animalcules are produced when atmospheric air is excluded, for instance, when the surface of the infusion is covered with olive oil. They are generated by an infusion of any animal or vegetable matter, which contains nothing acrid or acid, and nothing which would prevent putrefaction. The development of infusoria commences as soon as a certain degree of decomposition with escape of gas has taken place. From this period, also, a large number of microscopic molecules, produced by the dissolution of the organic matter, are seen in the infusion, sometimes diffused in it, sometimes forming a kind of membrane at its surface. Fray and Burdach state, that infusory animalcules are also generated in an atmosphere of hydrogen and nitrogen.

"Spallanzani, and several other physiologists, attacked this theory of the equivocal generation of animalcules. Spallanzani explained the production of these animals, by supposing ova to have been present in the fluid, and to be developed by the influence of warmth, water, air, and light. This physiologist's own experiments, however, show that organic substances do not lose

* Cuvier, *Rapport Historique sur les Progrès des Sciences Naturelles depuis* 1789. Paris, 1810. p. 194.

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their property of producing animalcules by being boiled, and that distilled water is as well adapted for making the infusion as other water. Besides, his observations merely prove that atmospheric air is necessary for the development of these animalcules; that, when bottles, filled with infusions, and hermetically closed, were exposed for an hour to boiling heat in vessels filled with water, no animalcules were discoverable in these infusions when afterwards examined. Spallanzani also found, that the animalcules differ according to the nature of the infusion. From experiments with the seeds of the water-melon, gourd, hemp, and millet, it resulted, that the number of the Infusoria is greater when the germ is in the progress of growth than when the seed is just germinating, and that the number diminishes as the seed decays. The smaller kinds of animalcules were succeeded by larger, until, after a certain time, the power of developing them seemed to be lost. The infusory animalcules from uninjured seeds were said to be larger than those from pulverized seeds. They were generated from flour quite as well as from seeds merely bruised. If, however, the starch of the flour was separated from the gluten, and an infusion made of each of these substances separately, very few animalcules, or none at all, were developed in the infusion of starch, while in that of the gluten a host of living animals were seen. In infusions of barley, Indian wheat, beans, lupin-seeds, rice, and linseed, no animalcules were developed. But, since the genera and species of Infusoria are as determinate as those of higher classes of animals, and since Spallanzani has not particularized the differences of form of his Infusoria, since, moreover, the forms of the Infusoria in the different stages of their development are not known, Spallanzani's experiments lose much of their weight in reference to his discovery of perfectly different animalcules in the infusions of the gourd, chamomile, sorrel, corn, and spelt.

"Treviranus has, by his numerous and more accurate experiments, given a much greater importance to the hypothesis of equivocal generation. The following are the grounds of his arguments; —

"1. Infusions, with the same water, of different organic substances, — for instance, cress-seeds and rye, — give rise to different animalcules.

"2. Light has a very great influence on the process of equivocal generation. Thus, the green matter of Priestley, which is remarkable for its property of exhaling oxygen, is produced only under the influence of light; when water, particularly spring-water, is exposed to the sun in transparent vessels, whether open or close, this matter appears in the form of a greenish crust,

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consisting of round or elliptic granules, and presenting at first only slight motions of single molecules, while afterwards transparent threads moving irregularly are discoverable in it. These changes have been most fully observed by Ingenhouss. According to Professor R. Wagner, the green matter of Priestley (generally supposed to be formed of the simple vegetable cells, the Protococcus) consists of the remains of green animalcules, the Euglena viridis, and others, which have died. In that case, the moving threads would be independent beings, distinct from the green matter, and Ingenhouss would have committed the error of regarding different kinds of simple beings as different states of the same molecules.

"3. The Entozoa, and the Spermatozoa, bodies with tails and spontaneous motions, which are seen by the microscope in the seminal fluid, even of invertebrate animals, seem to afford arguments for the spontaneous origin of living beings in organic matter.

"4. Treviranus found in his own experiments, that, under circumstances otherwise similar, different organic beings, namely, Infusoria or Algæ (mould), are formed in different infusions; and he ascertained that these differences did not depend on the water, but on the substances infused in it.

"5. Treviranus observed, that in the same infusion, under different accidental conditions, different animalcules were developed; thus, from an infusion of the leaves of the iris with fresh spring-water, in a long vessel covered with linen, and exposed to the sun, infusory animalcules were generated; in another vessel, placed in another situation, the green matter of Priestley was formed. Thus also the products in the same infusion of rye with spring-water were different, when Treviranus placed a bar of iron in one of the vessels. This result seems to agree with that of Gleditsch, who found, that in separate portions of melon covered with muslin, and placed at different heights, the various living organic substances, namely, mould, byssus, and tremellæ, were produced in different proportions. To this might be added, that Gruithuisen states, that he has found perfectly different animalcules in infusions of pus and mucus.

"From all these facts Treviranus has inferred, that throughout nature there exists an absolutely indecomposible, indestructible (?), organic matter, which is constantly active; which is the cause of life in every thing living, from the byssus to the palm, and from the point-like infusory animalcule, to the monsters of the deep; and which, in its essence unchangeable, is constantly changing its form; that this matter has itself no proper form, but is capable of assuming every one in which life is manifested;

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that it receives a determinate form only under the influence of external causes, retains it only during the continuance of these causes, and takes another as soon as other causes act upon it.

"According to Wrisberg and others, the animalcules are formed from particles which separate from the substance infused, and which gradually begin to move; while Gruithuisen says, that they appear first in the solution of extractive matter obtained by the action of water on the infused substance. Professor Schultze remarks, 'I have never seen a globule of blood, or of milk, or of cerebral substance, begin to move about in their several infusions, as a monad, or become changed into one. Every single globule, by its solution, affords matter for the production of several hundred monads.' This last observation, however, does not agree with the results of measurement; Ehrenberg estimates the smallest possible monad at about $\frac{1}{2000}$ of a line, that is $\frac{1}{24000}$ of an inch; while the corpuscules of human blood are only $\frac{1}{3700} - \frac{1}{4600}$ of an inch in diameter, and the globules of the milk are still smaller. Schultze states, that he has observed the conversion of dust-like particles of organic matter into Infusoria; these particles in the water become, he says, in a few hours surrounded by a turbid ring, which extends until the particle is quite dissolved; and then separates into monads." — Vol. I. pp. 11 – 14.

To these experiments and observations may be added a fact which recently fell under the observation of Dumas, the distinguished organic chemist of the School of Medicine in Paris. Having produced artificially, by the direct combustion of oxygen and hydrogen, a kilogramme of water, he noticed, after a certain period, that a vegetable mucosity had made its appearance on the inner surface of the glass in which it was contained, which was closed by a ground-glass stopper.

These instances furnish nearly all the arguments which can be advanced in favor of the spontaneous generation of animalcules. Müller objects to the whole of them, as insufficient to establish the point in question. None of them, he thinks, were conducted with sufficient accuracy to preclude the possibility of germs existing in one or the other of the substances used in the experiments, or in the air by which they are surrounded. The experiments of Spallanzani, as confirmed by later observers, with regard to the revivification of animalcules, especially the Rotifer, prove that these beings may exist in a dried state for a certain period,

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during which time they resemble particles of dust; and, on a new application of moisture, they are revivified, or, as Spallanzani himself expressed it, they undergo the process of *resurrection*. Although other observers, besides Spallanzani, have succeeded in effecting this supposed resurrection, yet the manner in which the experiments were conducted does not afford demonstrative evidence of the truth of the results ascribed to them. On this ground they have been contested, and, more recently, Ehrenberg has added his authority to the opposition, rejecting them entirely, and attempting to show the source of error. The subject has been taken up anew by one of the French naturalists, M. Doyère, who has taken all the precautions necessary to preclude error, and has succeeded entirely in refuting the objections to Spallanzani's experiments. As this is an interesting subject, in a physiological point of view, we give an abstract of the report, made by a Commission of the Academy of Sciences in Paris, on the experiments of M. Doyère.*

The animals on which Spallanzani made his experiments, belonged to the genera *Rotifera* and *Tardigrada*, which inhabit the moss growing on the roofs of houses, and the sand and dust found in the gutters of the roof, and which often become perfectly dry, but assume an active state, whenever they are moistened with water. Spallanzani believed, that these animalcules were capable of being desiccated without losing their vitality, which was completely restored on the application of moisture. His opponents, among whom is Ehrenberg, contend that they are amphibious, and capable of living either in the water or in imperfectly dry sand; so that, in examining sand which has been for a long time more or less dry, we have an entirely different generation from the one which existed at the time when the water began to disappear, — or, as Ehrenberg says, they are only the great-grandchildren of those observed in the same matter at the commencement of the experiment. By others, it is admitted, that, although the animals themselves die when the sand is deprived of its moisture, the ova are preserved unimpaired, and by a new application of water they are rapidly developed. Lastly, some maintain that the desiccation is

* See *Microscopic Journal*, No. 20. London. October, 1842.

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incomplete, going so far, only, as to render the animals torpid, and, though to all appearance dead, they actually preserve a latent life.

The results of Doyère's experiments set all these matters at rest. He has not succeeded in finding *living* Tardigrades in the dry dust, but he shows, that, by the aid of the microscope, corpuscles can be seen, which perfectly resemble the dead bodies of these animalcules, deformed by desiccation, and that, in matter where no living being was previously discernible, living Tardigrades frequently appear on the addition of a little distilled water. M. Doyère is even assured, that it is not impossible to revivify them, if taken one by one and dried separately on a piece of glass, without being surrounded by sand or other material, organic or inorganic. In his experiments, he has been able to count them, and to trace in each individual all the phases of desiccation; to observe them gradually assuming the appearance of dead bodies, and to determine that these same bodies, dry and brittle, are susceptible of reassuming their primitive form and returning to life, under the influence of a few drops of water. This desiccation was not effected merely by the natural and spontaneous evaporation of the fluids exposed to the air, but was carried still further, by confining the animals, dried on slips of glass, for the space of five days, in the vacuum of an air pump, over a vessel containing sulphuric acid; others were left thirty days in a Torricellian vacuum, dried by chloride of lime, and, in all these instances, he obtained some resurrections. The experiments did not rest here, but were pushed in another direction, in order to ascertain the effect of different temperatures on these singular beings.

It is known that some animalcules perish when their temperature is raised above a certain limit, inferior, however, to that at which the white of egg coagulates, and which, in the majority of cases, does not exceed 122° F. M. Doyère is satisfied that Rotifers and Tardigrades are not excepted from this law, but perish when the water in which they swim is heated to 105° F.; and that they cannot then be recalled to life by any means. This, however, is not the case when they have been previously dried. If, instead of experimenting upon those in full life, it is done upon those which have lost all their humidity by the ordinary means of

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desiccation, and which appear as dead, it is possible, without depriving them of the faculty of revivifying, to raise their temperature to a degree which would necessarily involve the disorganization of all living tissue containing water beyond that chemically combined with its constituent principles. In an experiment, repeated in the presence of the Commission of the Academy, a certain quantity of moss, containing *Tardigrada*, after having been properly dried, was placed in a stove, and around the bulb of a thermometer, the stem of which extended out of the apparatus. Heat was gradually applied, till the thermometer thus placed rose to 248° F. This temperature was maintained for several minutes; and yet some of the animalcules contained in the moss returned to life, and appeared in their usual condition, after having been placed twenty-four hours in water.

These facts are of much importance for the solution of the question at issue. The result is certainly affected by a circumstance, first pointed out by M. Chevreul, that albumen, deprived of its water by previous drying, can be submitted to a much higher temperature, without losing its solubility, than it could bear, if exposed in the same way in a moist state. From the simple fact, that a Tardigrade, exposed to the action of a temperature of 248 degrees, can still be made to revive, it may be concluded, with great probability, that it can live after the whole of the water chemically free in its body has been dissipated, a degree of desiccation which would seem to preclude the idea of vital movement. Thus the *Tardigrada* and *Rotifera*, when dry, cannot be considered as actually alive, but their mode of existence may be compared to that of a seed, which is organized so as to germinate when exposed to the influence of the air, of water, and of heat; but which, in the absence of any one of these excitements, manifests no sign of activity or life, and can be preserved thus for ages, although the duration of its active life may not exceed, perhaps, a few weeks.

Although we cannot assert, with M. Doyère, that an animalcule may wholly lose its vitality, and assume it again on the application of water, yet no one will refuse to admit, as one of the consequences of these experiments, what is already acknowledged by many naturalists, among whom is Humboldt, that animalcules, or their germs, may be desiccated, without

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necessarily losing their vitality, and, when thus dried, that they are capable of being wafted about in the air, until they shall find a suitable *nidus* for their revivification. In experiments which are made in order to determine the origin of the animalcules of infusions, it will always be necessary, therefore, to take those precautions which will wholly remove this source of error, — the possibility of the animals being introduced from the atmosphere.

Another objection, which Müller makes to the argument for the spontaneous generation of animalcules, is based on the liability to error from the presence of the animals, or of their germs, in the water itself in which the experiments are made.

"The equivocal generation of Infusoria is not better proved by the experiments in which boiled organic substances and common water were used; for the water may have contained the ova of Infusoria, or animalcules themselves, which have afterwards multiplied very rapidly at the expense of the organic matter in the infusion. The use of perfectly pure distilled water can scarcely be presupposed, for even water distilled five times may still contain organic particles.

"Those who have experimented with fresh organic substances and distilled water, or even artificially prepared gases, cannot prove that the ova of animalcules, or animalcules themselves, were not in some way contained in the organic substance; the microscopic animalcules, which are known to exist in living tissues, are, indeed, few, and the common globules of the organic fluids, such as those of the blood, have certainly no individual life; but mucus itself contains microscopic animals; the intestinal mucus of the frog, as well as the semen, contains animalcules. Baer has seen microscopic particles moving spontaneously in different parts of mussels. The grain of wheat, and some varieties of agrostis, often contain vibriones, which, even after being dried, recover their active life, if moistened. Some Entozoa also, but still more some Epizoa, will continue to live when placed in water.

"Although some experimenters should have employed organic substances long boiled, with distilled water and artificially prepared air at the same time, still, the accuracy necessary for a sure result is neither probable nor generally possible; since every instrument used for changing the water ought to be absolutely free from particles of organic matter, and every cleansing is a source of errors.

"*Ehrenberg's observations are opposed to the theory.* — The

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foregoing remarks do not disprove the existence of equivocal generation; they merely show that it is scarcely possible to prove it by direct experiment. The investigations of Ehrenberg, however, relative to the organization of these animals and plants, which are supposed to be generated in this 'equivocal' manner, have thrown new doubt upon the theory. In the first place, Ehrenberg discovered the real germs of the fungi and algæ, or mould. The propagation of these organic bodies was thus established; it was shown, that, by means of the germs or seeds of the mould, new mould can be produced, which rendered it probable that the cases of the unexpected production of mould arose merely from germs, which had been diffused in the atmosphere or water, having then found the situation required for their development. With regard to the infusory animalcules, their complicated structure was first discovered by Ehrenberg; he found that the smallest monad, $\frac{1}{2000}$ of a line in diameter, has a complicated stomach, and organs of motion in the form of cilia. In others he observed the ova, and the propagation by ova. This excited the greatest doubt with regard to those earlier observations in which, the complicated structure of these animalcules being unknown, they were said to have been seen to originate in particles of the organic substance of the infusion. Ehrenberg has never succeeded in obtaining determinate forms of Infusoria, according to the nature of the infusion; and even by the most similar modes of performing the experiment, sometimes one, sometimes another set of animalcules were obtained. He believes that there are certain forms, of which the number is limited, which are most widely diffused; that the ova, or individuals, of these forms, may exist in all waters, even in some parts of plants, but perhaps only in the noxious parts; and that of these forms different kinds may be much multiplied, according to the kinds of ova, or individuals, which were in the water, or were introduced into it. The increase of these animals appears to be extraordinarily rapid. A single wheel-animalcule, *Hydatina senta*, which was watched for more than eighteen days, and which lives still longer, is capable of a fourfold increase in twenty-four or thirty hours; a rate of propagation which would afford in ten days a million of beings. This, in some measure, explains the extraordinary number of Infusoria in a drop of an infusion. Ehrenberg never observed any animalcules in dew or rain; but there are some which he has found, in Africa and Asia as well as in Europe, in sea water as well as in river water, in the depths of the earth, and at its surface. During their development, however, these animals seem to present many forms, and the forms dependent on the different stages

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of development of one animalcule may be easily mistaken for examples of different species. From these observations Ehrenberg concludes, that all Infusoria are, like other animals, propagated from ova, — 'omne vivum ex ovo,' — and leaves it undecided, whether the ova are, or are not, in part really the product of a *generatio primitiva.*" — Vol. I. pp. 14 – 16.

The existence of the Entozoa, which inhabit the interior of other animals, lends much more support to the doctrine of equivocal generation than any facts observed respecting the Infusoria. The Entozoa form a class *sui generis*, and are, for the most part, quite distinct in their organization from any thing which exists external to the body. They are extremely numerous, as scarcely an animal can be found which does not furnish one or more species of them inhabiting the alimentary canal, the cellular and muscular tissues, the interior of the vascular system, the humors of the eyes, and even the cavities of the brain. We have no evidence that they come from without, for nothing like them can be found out of the animal organization; neither the earth, the water, nor the interior of plants, contains any races which resemble them. A tape-worm, an Ascaris, a Hydatid, is never met with except in the interior of another animal, and a great number of species can be found only in one kind of animal, each race having its own parasites, differing specifically from those of others. "Many of these Entozoa occur only in particular organs, and generally die when removed from the animal body. They have been observed even in the embryos; and a still stronger proof that they cannot be introduced from without is furnished by the fact, that they exist equally in animals who are strictly herbivorous, and whose food, therefore, cannot be suspected of being the vehicle by which either the animals themselves, or their ova, might be introduced. Even in carnivorous animals, the introduction of Entozoa from without can be admitted in a very few cases only; such are the facts, of the Echinorhynchus of the field-mouse having been sometimes found in the falcon, the worms of frogs in serpents, and the Ligula of fishes in the stomachs of wading and swimming birds."

Ehrenberg endeavours to set aside the doctrine of the equivocal generation of the Entozoa, on the ground, that, since they are provided with organs which are well known to contain ova, the ova themselves may be absorbed, and

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carried by the circulation into all parts of the body, and thus find their way into particular organs, or secretions, and even pass by the milk from one individual to another. "It is certainly possible," says Müller, "that they may have originally found their way thither (into the interior of animals) from the fluids of the mother; but the suppositions by which equivocal generation is here sought to be refuted are as improbable as that theory itself. The ova of Entozoa are evidently too large to enter the lymphatics of the organ in which the animal lives; they are much too large to circulate in the capillary blood-vessels, of which the diameter is only $\frac{1}{370}$ of an English inch; the explanation of their occurrence in herbivorous animals by transmission from mother to young is, consequently, completely opposed to known *data* afforded by the micrometer, unless it be admitted that the smallest particle of germinal matter formed by Entozoa already existing was as capable of propagating them as the entire ovum."

From our ignorance of the habits and history of this singular race of animals, it is impossible to arrive at any very satisfactory conclusion respecting the manner in which they find their way into the interior of other animals, and the means by which their progeny is so far preserved as to insure a continuation of their respective species. A judicious and reflecting inquirer, however, will be slow to admit the possibility of their equivocal origin, when he considers that such a mode of generation is entirely without analogy in all races of organized beings, animal as well as vegetable, excepting only such as, from their microscopic size, or the obscurity of their localities, are as yet so little known that we cannot form an opinion with regard to their mode of reproduction; and that almost every step in the progress of zoölogical knowledge adds something to the evidence in the opposite scale.

The only other subject treated of in the "general prolegomena," to which we propose to refer, is that of the manifestation of the imponderable agents in the different races of organized beings. Light, heat, and electricity are evolved by animals, but in very different degrees. Heat is evolved by all the higher orders, so that they are enabled to maintain a temperature independent of that of the surrounding air; the same is also true with regard to many of the in-

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vertebrate classes, especially the insects and worms; but experiments are wanting to prove the presence or absence of this power in many of the other races. The experiments of Pouillet demonstrate the evolution of electricity during the germination of vegetables, and Matteuci witnessed a deviation of the magnetic needle, of about 15° or 20°, when the liver and stomach of a rabbit were connected with the platinum ends of the wires of a delicate galvanometer. These manifestations, however, must be referred to the vital and chemical changes, like the evolution of heat, which are going on in the animal economy, independently of the will, or beyond the control of voluntary effort. But to this last statement, there are, among the fishes, a few wonderful exceptions. In addition to the organs common to them and the other members of the genera to which they belong, an apparatus, or battery, is found, destined expressly for the evolution of electricity in large quantities, which they charge and discharge at will, whenever the power is required for self-defence, or, perhaps, for other purposes, as yet unknown to naturalists.

The emission of light is peculiar to a portion of the invertebrate classes. Some of the animals belonging to the genus *Cydippe*, *Beroe*, and *Oceania*, among the *Acalephæ*, are remarkable for possessing this property; and these, with some of the marine microscopic Crustacea, are the principal causes of the phosphorescence of the ocean. Among insects, phosphorescent species of the genera *Lampyris Elater* and *Fulgora* are well known.

The subject of the manifestation of light, heat, and electricity is one of the most curious and interesting which animal physiology can present to our notice, but our limits will allow us to say only a few words respecting the electrical fishes.

The fishes which have the power of generating and accumulating electricity at will, as at present known, consist of a very limited number of species, and these belonging to very different natural families. The most remarkable and best known are certain varieties of the Torpedo, the *Gymnotus Electricus*, and the Malapterurus. The Torpedo is found in more localities than either of the others; as it is now known to exist in Europe, Africa, and near the coast of South America, where it has been described by Humboldt; and it has also

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been quite recently noticed by Dr. Storer on the coast of Massachusetts. The electric organs of this fish are situated on each side of the head, filling up the large space which exists between the head and the anterior edge of the pectoral fin. Each organ is made up of numerous quadrangular, pentagonal, and hexagonal prisms, arranged vertically, side by side, and extending from the upper to the under surface of the body. Each prism consists of a thin, membranous exterior, surrounded with nerves and vessels, and containing a great number of thin, transverse *lamellæ* lying parallel, and one above the other, with a gelatinous fluid between them; so that the whole organ may be said to consist of a series of membranous cells, containing fluid.

The most remarkable anatomical peculiarity noticeable in this apparatus is the enormous size of the nerves by which it is supplied. In the human body, the nerve known as the *nervus vagus*, pneumo-gastric, or eighth pair of cerebral nerves, is distributed principally to the œsophagus, the heart, the lungs, and the stomach. In the Torpedo, this same nerve is distributed to the œsophagus, gills, stomach, and electric organs. If we compare the nerves of the two together, we are struck with the enormous size of those of the fish. They are many times larger than the spinal marrow itself, and, at their origin, in the *medulla oblongata*, are provided with ganglia, which are actually larger than the whole of the brain. A branch of the fifth pair of cerebral nerves is also distributed to the anterior portions of these organs. In the *Gymnotus*, or electrical eel, the structure of the electrical apparatus, which forms nearly the whole bulk of the animal, is not materially different from that of the Torpedo. It consists of a series of membranous cells, filled with a fluid, but not arranged in prisms. These organs are four in number, two on each side of the body, extending nearly the entire length of the animal, which, in its general outline, resembles the common eel. The organs of the *Gymnotus* do not receive their nervous influence from the same sources as those of the Torpedo, but are supplied by two hundred and twenty-four pairs of nerves, which are derived entirely from the spinal marrow.

The effects of the electrical discharges are, for the most part, the same in the Torpedo and *Gymnotus*, though in some particulars they differ. The electricity itself has been proved

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by satisfactory experiments to be identical with that manifested in the ordinary way in the physical world. By the shocks or discharges from these animals, the galvanometer has been affected, sparks have been obtained, water decomposed, and needles magnetized. The power of producing the electric discharges is voluntary; and ceases entirely on the destruction of the brain. The *Gymnotus* not only evolves electricity at will, but has the power of determining the direction in which the discharges shall act. When Humboldt and Bonpland seized one of these fishes, one grasping the head and the other the tail, the shock was not always immediate; but, when it took place, it was sometimes given to one and sometimes to the other. The shocks from the *Gymnotus* are by far the most severe, and, to be affected by them, it is not necessary to touch it in more than one point; and the result is the same, if, instead of making the contact with the hand, an iron rod be interposed between it and the surface of the fish. If one hand only is laid upon it, a smart shock is generally felt in the hand and fore arm; if both hands are applied, the shock passes through the breast. "I do not remember," says Humboldt, "of having received from the discharge of a large Leyden jar a more dreadful shock than that I experienced by placing both my feet on a *Gymnotus* just taken from the water. I was affected through the day with a violent pain in the knees, and in almost every joint." The sensation produced by the shock of the *Gymnotus* is like that of the Leyden jar, while that of the Torpedo is compared to the sensation produced by the galvanic battery.

"Electric fishes which are still vigorous exert their electric power as strongly in the air as in the water. If several persons form the chain between the upper and under surfaces of the fish, the shock is not felt, unless these persons have previously moistened their hands. The discharge, however, is felt by two persons who, while grasping the Torpedo with their right hands, complete the circle, — not by holding each other by the left hands, but by each dipping a small bar of metal into a drop of water on an insulated body. Dr. J. Davy had observed that the dorsal and ventral surfaces of the electric organs of the Torpedo have different electric properties. This has been confirmed by Linari and Matteuci [and M. Colladon], who have found that the direction of the currents is from the dorsal to the ventral surface; and that the dorsal surface, therefore, may be regarded as

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the positive, the ventral as the negative pole. [M. Colladon observed, that, when the wires were applied to two symmetrical points of the back or belly of the fish, no effect was produced on the galvanometer ; but that there was always distinct evidence of an electric current, when two non-symmetrical points of either surface were touched ; the part nearest to the electric organ being positive with relation to other parts on the back, and negative on the belly. Nearly similar results have been obtained more recently by M. Matteuci. He found that all points on the back, lying over the entrance of the nerves into the electric organs, were positive with relation to other points of the same surface, and that the corresponding points on the abdominal surface were negative with relation to all other parts of the belly ; and hence was enabled to explain the occurrence of currents when one surface of either electric organ was touched at two different points, or the same surface of both organs at non-symmetrical points. The interior of the electric organ being examined, it was found that each layer near to the dorsal surface was positive electric with regard to those nearer to the abdominal surface.] Spallanzani observed that the Torpedo loses its power of giving shocks when its skin is removed. Matteuci, however, states that the electric shock of the Torpedo is only weakened by the removal of the skin, and is felt even when slices of the organ are removed. But few truly physiological experiments have been hitherto performed on the nerves of the electric fishes. Dr. Davy observed that the electric discharges of a Torpedo continued after the brain of the fish was divided lengthwise ; but that, after the removal of the brain, no more shocks were given, even when the nerves of the electric organs were irritated. In one instance, when a small portion of brain had accidentally been left in connection with the electric nerves of one side, the fish gave a shock when irritated. M. Matteuci found that the intensity of the shock diminished in proportion to the number of the nervous fibres going to the organ which he divided, and that it was no longer given when all the nerves were severed. The death of the fish, produced by morphia, was attended with strong electric discharges and convulsions. When the animal had ceased to give shocks, even though irritated, discharges stronger than ordinary were excited by touching the part of the brain (an enlargement of the medulla oblongata) from which the nerves of the electric organs arise. [All parts of the brain in front of this fourth lobe or enlargement of the medulla oblongata may be removed without arresting the electric discharges. The cerebral hemispheres may be touched, wounded, or cut away, without any discharge being excited ; but

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irritation of the optic lobes between the cerebral hemispheres and cerebellum sometimes caused an electric discharge, when the animal was vigorous.] From these results, M. Matteuci infers that the electric force of the Torpedo is not generated in the electric organs, that the current receives its direction from the brain, and that it is only strengthened in the former organs as in a Leyden phial or secondary pile. These conclusions appear to me, however, to be by no means justified by the foregoing facts; for, if the brain were the source of the electricity, its generation might be excited and its presence demonstrated even after the removal of the electric organs. The brain may charge these organs by exciting in them a heterogeneous chemical state, or it may merely cause them to discharge the electricity with which they have by their own energy charged themselves.

"A remarkable circumstance observed by M. Matteuci, in his more recent experiments, but requiring confirmation, was, that a galvanic current, directed through the nerves and electric organ of the Torpedo, excited a discharge, whether the current was made to pass from the nerves to the organ, or in the opposite direction; but that, when one pole was applied to the electric lobe of the brain and the other to the electric organ, no discharge was excited, unless the galvanic current was directed from the brain to the organ." — Vol. I. pp. 71, 72.

In order to give some idea of the manner in which the author treats the different subjects that fall within his province, we shall select a single chapter for analysis, as a more extended abstract would exceed our limits. For this purpose, we take up the chapter on respiration.

The end of the function of respiration is the introduction into the animal economy of a certain amount of oxygen, and the exhalation, or separation from it, of a certain amount of carbonic acid and water. At every moment, man is, by means of his lungs, borrowing from the air its oxygen, and, while life lasts, there can be no arrest of this process, beyond a few moments, without imminent danger. Lavoisier and Menzies have estimated, that, in the course of one year, man consumes from seven hundred to eight hundred pounds of this gas, and yet the weight of his body, at the end of that period, varies but little from what it was at the commencement. "The carbon and hydrogen of certain parts have entered into combination with the oxygen introduced from without, by means of the lungs and skin, and have been given out in the form of carbonic acid gas and the vapor of water.

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At every moment, at every expiration, certain quantities of its elements separate from the animal organism, after having entered into combination, within the body, with the oxygen of the atmosphere." * Dumas, in his Lecture on Chemical Statics, referring to the changes which are continually going on in the animal economy, asks; "Have we not proved, by a multitude of results, that, in a chemical point of view, an animal constitutes a true apparatus for combustion, in which carbon is incessantly being burned, and returned to the air, in the form of carbonic acid; and in which hydrogen is also continually burned, and as continually forming water; from which, in fine, azote is constantly exhaled in a free state from the lungs, and, in that of the oxide of ammonia, from the kidneys?" †

This function, so important in man, is common to the whole animal kingdom, and is inseparable from animal existence. Its relative importance, however, is very variable; for we find that the amount of oxygen consumed by worms and cold-blooded animals is very small. It varies much, as in the case of a bird compared with a fish, and yet so important is respiration to all, that to place an animal in a medium in which it cannot go on is a sure means, sooner or later, of destroying life. Müller, in treating of the organs by which the function is carried on, gives a general outline of the different forms which they assume in the different classes of animals, commencing with the more simple, and ascending to the more complex. Thus, we have a series of contrivances brought to our notice, varying in their degree of complication as we ascend from the lower to the higher classes, and these complications are commensurate with the extent and activity of the function. The series thus examined affords an illustration of the general proposition, that, as we descend in the animal scale, there is a tendency to dispense with the division of labor which is carried to so great an extent in the higher classes, and, instead of having a special organ appropriated to each function, we have all the functions performed, as it were, by a single organ, and that one is the whole body of the animal. Thus, in the *Hydra*, or fresh-water polypus, there is no organ appropriated specially to

* Liebig's *Animal Chemistry.* London, 1842. p. 13.
† *Leçon sur la Statique Chemique.* Paris, 1841. p. 4.

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the function of respiration, but this takes place over the entire surface of the body, which surface is the only seat of sensibility, and is also capable of performing the office of a stomach; for, according to the experiments of Trembley, this animal digests its food equally well, if completely turned inside out. What is here said of the organs of respiration is equally true in respect to the nervous, vascular, and other systems.

Respiratory organs are divisible into two kinds, according to the nature of the medium in which the animal lives, whether it be the air or the water. As it is from the surrounding medium that they all borrow their oxygen, the organs are varied to suit the conditions under which they exist. Aërial respiration is carried on, almost universally, by cavities which exist in the interior of the body, assuming the form of lungs, simple pouches, or complicated and ramified tubes. In all of these, however, the air is admitted into the interior of the organ. In aquatic respiration, on the contrary, excepting in the case of those animals in which it is effected by the entire surface, the organs assume the form of tufts, or fringes, or gills, and, in all cases, the surrounding medium comes in contact only with their external surface. For illustration, we will cite a few examples from the book; and first, in relation to the aquatic races.

In the polypi, the whole surface, as has already been intimated, serves for respiratory action. In the infusory animalcules, the only respiratory organs seem to be the delicate vibrating filaments called *ciliæ*, with which, in many species, the surface is in part or wholly covered. They are so minute that the highest magnifying power is needed in order to perceive them. These *ciliæ* perform, also, the office of locomotive organs. In the aquatic mollusca and annelides, the respiratory organs are distinct, and usually assume the form of tufts or fringes, which are situated on the outer surface of the body, and float freely in the water. In other cases, they appear as thin laminæ, more or less concealed in the interior, accessible to the water, and are commonly known as gills. In the crustacea, the gills exist in a more complicated form; and, in the fishes, they assume a more perfect organization than in any of the preceding classes.

Among animals breathing air, the terrestrial mollusca afford the simplest form of respiratory cavities. In the slug

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and snail, we have a simple pouch excavated in the body of the animal, opening externally by an orifice distinct from the mouth, and generally at a distance from it; and, on the inner surface of this cavity, the vessels ramify by which the blood is carried to and from the atmospheric influence. In a portion of the spiders we find a similar arrangement, but the pouches are more numerous, and the interior is more or less subdivided, so as to increase the amount of surface. Among the rest of the spiders, and in the whole class of insects, the respiratory organs consist of a series of minute and highly ramified tubes, which traverse every portion of the body, so that the air performs a circulation similar to that of the blood in the higher classes. Among the vertebrate classes, the reptiles have lungs constructed with the greatest degree of simplicity, consisting of large and hollow pouches, the surface of which is slightly subdivided into cells; such is the case with the frogs, the serpents, the lizards, and the tortoises. Those which frequent the water have large lungs, containing more air than is necessary for their immediate use, and serving as reservoirs, from which oxygen is procured while they lie concealed beneath the surface. In birds and quadrupeds, whose temperature is much higher than that of the preceding classes, and the activity of whose muscular, nervous, and circulating systems is also greater, we find lungs of the highest degree of complication, the whole interior being divided and subdivided so as to secure the greatest possible amount of respiratory surface.

There is still another race of animals, which, though truly aquatic in their habits, occupy a position intermediate between the two divisions above mentioned. They constitute the order of *true* amphibious animals, being provided with internal pulmonary organs, and with external tufts or gills, so that they are capable of respiring either air or water. This is the case with the Proteus, the Siren, and the Axolotl. Some of the lower orders of reptiles, in their immature condition, have the same organization as the Proteus, which is intended, however, only for temporary use, the gills subsequently disappearing, but the lungs continuing to be developed, and, in the adult, the function being performed as in other air-breathing animals. The tadpole of the common frog is thus organized, the gills not disappearing until

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it undergoes its metamorphosis, when its extremities are fully developed, and it becomes capable of terrestrial locomotion.

Having thus given a general view of the respiratory organs, as presented by the different classes, the author proceeds to an exposition of the *effects* of respiration; namely, its action upon the atmosphere, or upon the air contained in the water, the comparative amount of oxygen consumed, and carbonic acid exhaled, by man and the lower animals, the changes which the blood undergoes in its circulation through the respiratory organs, the causes of its change of color, in a portion of the animal kingdom, during its passage from the venous to the arterial system, and the theory of the chemical process. Lastly, he treats of the respiratory motions, and of the influence of the nerves on the different stages of the respiratory function. Having passed in review the different theories which have been advanced from time to time by Lavoisier, Laplace, Davy, and others, he sums up the present state of our knowledge on this subject as follows:

"Till within the last few years, therefore, the theory of respiration was involved in inexplicable difficulties. Blood agitated with atmospheric air was known to yield carbonic acid without the influence of the living organ, becoming at the same time of a bright red color; it was believed, however, to contain no pre-existing carbonic acid; and yet frogs were found to exhale carbonic acid when no oxygen was respired, and in nearly as large a quantity as in atmospheric air.

"Now, however, the problem is satisfactorily solved. The excellent experiments of Professor Magnus have shown that both kinds of blood contain oxygen, nitrogen, and carbonic acid gas, that arterial blood contains more oxygen than venous blood, while carbonic acid is in larger quantity in the venous than in the arterial. During respiration, carbonic acid is extracted from the blood by the atmospheric air, oxygen being yielded to the blood in its place; a portion of the carbonic acid still remains, however, dissolved in the arterial blood. In the process which is constantly going on between the blood and the texture of the organs in the capillary vessels of the body, the oxygen, which is a vivifying stimulus for the organized substance, disappears in part from the arterial blood, and carbonic acid is formed; the venous blood, therefore, contains a larger proportion of carbonic acid, though it retains some of the oxygen. The venous blood

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reaching the lungs is again deprived of a part of its carbonic acid by the action of the atmospheric air. The interchange of the carbonic acid and oxygen in the lungs is wholly in accordance with the physical laws of the absorption of gases. A fluid impregnated with a particular gas does not give it out as long as its surface is subjected to the pressure of the same gas; but, if it is brought into contact with a different gas, an interchange takes place until the gas with which the fluid is impregnated, and the gaseous atmosphere which presses upon it, are equally mixed. This law affords a ready explanation for the exhalation of carbonic acid by frogs in hydrogen and nitrogen in as large quantity as in atmospheric air, as well as for the fact that hydrogen and nitrogen transmitted through blood become impregnated with the carbonic acid which it contains.

"The proportion of carbonic acid contained in the blood is sufficiently large to account for the whole quantity exhaled from the lungs.

"Supposing that two ounces of blood are expelled from the heart at each beat, ten pounds must pass through the lungs in a minute; and these ten pounds of blood ought to contain 27·4 cubic inches of carbonic acid, — such being the volume of this gas which Allen and Pepys found to be exhaled from the lungs during a minute's respiration. But, admitting that the quantity of carbonic acid really exhaled from the lungs is less by one half than the experiments of Allen and Pepys would indicate, — and it certainly is less, — and adopting the estimate of Sir H. Davy, who calculated that 15·8 cubic inches is the amount of carbonic acid gas exhaled from the lungs during each minute, still ten pounds of blood ought to contain nearly sixteen cubic inches of that gas.

"The experiments of Professor Magnus have shown, that the blood contains at least one fifth of its volume of carbonic acid; and, since one pound of blood measures about 25 French cubic inches [one pound avoirdupois of water contains 27·7 English cubic inches, the same weight of blood about 26·4 English cubic inches], every pound of venous blood ought to contain at least five cubic inches of carbonic acid, and the ten pounds of blood which pass through the lungs in a minute, 50 cubic inches [60 English cubic inches], of which it may easily be conceived that 15·8, or even 27·4 cubic inches, may be exhaled in the respiratory process.

"A small quantity of nitrogen is absorbed by the blood from the air respired, but does not appear to perform any office in the system, since its proportion is the same in arterial and venous blood.

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"The object of the respiratory process is evidently, first, the absorption of oxygen into the blood, which conveys that gas as a stimulus to the different organs of the body; and, secondly, the removal from the blood of the carbonic acid which is formed in the capillaries. That the latter is not the main object is clearly shown by the fact of frogs falling into a state of asphyxia when made to respire in hydrogen and nitrogen, although the quantity of carbonic acid which is exhaled in those gases is not in the slightest degree less than in atmospheric air." — Vol. I. pp. 357, 358.

We are aware that it is impossible, from a short notice like this, to form a true idea of the whole work under consideration; to this end, nothing short of attentive study will suffice. The student who shall avail himself of the treasures contained in it, will be convinced that Professor Müller, as might have been anticipated from his high European reputation, was eminently qualified for the great task which he has undertaken; and that, before entering upon his labors, he had acquired all the preliminary information essential to his success. He has a thorough acquaintance with physical and chemical science, and the anatomy of man and the animal races; and to these qualifications must be added an acute and philosophical mind, slow to admit the opinions of others, unless supported by substantial evidence. Nearly every page affords sufficient testimony of the truth of what is here advanced. We do not wish to imply, that no objectionable opinions are brought forward; some there certainly are, perhaps many; to discuss these in detail, however, is a business that falls within the province of journals strictly devoted to medical and physiological science.

With regard to the English edition of this work, we have no other remark to make than that it is in the highest degree satisfactory, not merely from the beauty of its typographical execution, but on account of the numerous marginal illustrations and diagrams, which are indispensable for a clear understanding of many portions of the text. With respect to the American edition, although we are by no means disposed to doubt the ability of its editor, or that he has performed his duty as faithfully as the circumstances would admit, we think that it is much to be regretted that any abridgment should be undertaken, especially since it often requires, as in the present case, the omission of im-

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portant evidence, and the insertion of general and imperfect summaries. The absence of engraved illustrations in the body of the text must be regarded as a great objection to the American abridgment, and, should a new edition be called for, we trust that it will be found practicable to supply them.

ART. VI. — *History of Europe, from the Commencement of the French Revolution in* 1789, *to the Restoration of the Bourbons in* 1815. By ARCHIBALD ALISON, F. R. S. E., Advocate. Paris: Baudry. 1841. 10 vols. 8vo.

MR. ALISON'S History has many excellent qualities, and some striking faults. It is the elaborate and highly finished work of an able and conscientious writer, who has given to it the patient toil of many years, and who may be considered as having staked his reputation upon its success. It is not a brilliant production; it does not bear the marks of genius; it is not imbued with any profound philosophy. But it is full of interest, and it embodies a great amount of information, carefully collected, and admirably digested and arranged, and presented in a way that cannot fail to absorb the attention of the reader. It is conceived on a comprehensive plan, which admits every thing that can elucidate the main subject, without violating its unity; and it is executed with a care, fidelity, and spirit, that cannot be too highly appreciated. The author endeavours to be strictly impartial, and he is generally successful in the attempt. His work contrasts very favorably, in this respect, with the Life of Napoleon, by Scott, which is so full of English prejudices and unfairness, that, notwithstanding the great merits of its execution, it can hardly be said to possess any historical value whatever. This remarkable book always appeared to us like a sort of high Tory romance, or a plea in favor of Castlereagh politics, illustrated by a half fabulous account of French Jacobinism and the crimes of Napoleon. Mr. Alison's work has far higher claims to consideration and trust. Yet his Tory principles are as violent, and carried as far, as

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were those of Scott, and he has written this history with a purpose, but half concealed, of checking the spirit of innovation, and applying a corrective to the democratic tendencies of the age. What, then, are the grounds of our confidence in his general fidelity as a historian? They are found in the abundant evidence, which the book affords, of the honest intentions and ingenuous spirit of the writer, — in his sincere conviction that the story, if fairly and fully told, without artifice, concealment, or falsification, would answer all the purposes which he had in view. He seems to have been aware of the bias which existed in his own mind, and of the suspicion that it would throw upon his narrative, and he therefore goes honestly to work to counteract it, and to afford the reader, at every step, the means of verifying his statements and testing his conclusions.

His plan, as he remarks in the preface, "was to give on every occasion the authorities, by volume and page, from which the statement in the text was taken"; and this is done not only for every paragraph, but in many instances for every sentence. He has taken care, also, "to quote a preponderance of authority, in every instance where it was possible, from writers on the opposite side from that which an English historian, surveying the events with the feelings which attachment to a constitutional monarchy produces, may be supposed to adopt; and the reader will find every fact almost, in the internal history of the revolution, supported by two Republican and one Royalist authority; and every event in the military narrative drawn from at least two writers on the part of the French, and one on that of their opponents."

This plan, which is fully carried out, affords satisfactory proof of the integrity and conscientious spirit of the writer. It is evident that he intended to tell the truth, without reserve, exaggeration, or undue coloring, and, if he has failed to do so, he has afforded abundant means, at every step, whereby his departures from strict veracity may be detected and exposed. And the result is what might be expected from such a plan, when ably and fairly executed; for, after a full examination, we do not hesitate to say, that this is the most complete and honest history of the French Revolution which has yet appeared either in England or France. Certainly, no work by a British pen deserves to be com-

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pared with it; and we think every reader will accord it the preference, in point of fulness and impartiality, over the early narratives by the French Royalists, Bertrand de Molleville, Lacretelle, and others, and the more recent and popular works of Mignet and Thiers.

Mr. Alison has had the advantage of coming after these writers, and he has made good use of the fruits of their labor, and of the vast store of other materials, respecting the history of the French Revolution, which have been accumulating with great rapidity for half a century. The various publications on this subject would now fill a library by themselves, and most of them possess intrinsic, though partial, interest and value. Besides the great collection of "Revolutionary Memoirs," filling sixty-six volumes, which contain the authentic narratives of persons actively engaged in the great events which they describe, there is a multitude of contributions to the general history of the period, both civil and military, most of them coming from very trustworthy sources, which furnish an inexhaustible mine of information. Mr. Alison cannot be too highly praised for the diligent and effective use which he has made of these copious materials. It would be difficult to mention a single publication of any note relating to his subject, which is not quoted or referred to in the course of these volumes. French, English, and German authorities have been consulted with equal attention, and some Spanish and Italian writers have afforded collateral and subsidiary information, of which our author has availed himself to the great advantage of his work.

The time has gone by for viewing the eventful history of Europe, from the commencement of the revolution in France, to the second restoration of the Bourbons, with the rancor of political feeling and national animosity. Another generation has come upon the stage, who have had no share in the exciting events of those times, and who refuse to be blinded by the false coloring and distorted pictures, the forged narratives and unfair suppressions of the truth, with which party writers, during the heat of the contest, sought to animate the zeal of their own faction, and to disable their opponents. The truth is elicited from a comparison of opposite statements, and the publication of letters and official documents, and, when the facts are known, it is an idle attempt to resist

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or evade the conclusions which may fairly be drawn from them. Whatever may be the predilections or wishes of historians and political writers, they are now forced to do justice to the characters and measures of the several leaders and parties in the great contest. Colonel Napier's recently published "History of the War in the Peninsula" is a striking instance of this impartiality, which writers are now compelled to manifest, on account of the subdued tone of public feeling, and the multiplication of authorities, which leave no shelter for error or prejudice. It is written by a British officer who bore an active part in the war; but its tone is calm, temperate, and discriminating, and it bestows nearly as much praise on the military abilities and administrative talent of Soult and Suchet as on the transcendent genius and energy of Wellington. What a wide difference there is, in point of temper and fairness, between this work and Southey's history of the same war, the first volume of which was published some twenty years since! Mr. Alison's work affords another happy instance of this great improvement in candor and liberality of judgment, on the part of English historians. Even his estimate of the character of Napoleon, though marked with some traces of the exasperated feelings with which the English conducted the war against him, is, in the main, candid and just.

The preparations of our historian for his task were not confined to the careful examination of every thing that has been printed in relation to his subject. He has visited the several places where the great battles between the French and their opponents were fought, and, in most cases, describes the particular scene of each contest, and the general theatre of the war, from personal observation. His style being sufficiently perspicuous, this intimate knowledge of the ground imparts much force and clearness to his descriptions, and the account of the military movements and events is at once animated and intelligible. His summary of the political events, and other internal transactions, in each kingdom involved in the contest, is drawn up with great perspicuity and completeness, and combines an amount of information respecting the finances, and the state of parties, in each country, which it would be difficult to find elsewhere in such a condensed form. Supplementary chapters are given, at intervals, on the history, general condition, and internal

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resources of each nation, and the character of the people, which leave nothing to be desired in the way of subsidiary information for understanding the influence which each power exerted on the course of events in Europe. Great labor has evidently been bestowed on these digressions, so that they present a full and succinct digest of facts, collected from the most authentic sources, and presented in such a copious and lively style that they are among the most agreeable and instructive portions of the book. Mr. Alison has adopted so broad a plan, that some of these chapters — the general sketch of British India, for instance — seem to have only a remote connexion with the principal topic ; but they are so well executed that we fancy no reader will complain of their presence. This very chapter on India is admirably done, and there are others, which are but little inferior to it, on St. Domingo, Poland, Turkey, Russia, and France at different periods. The one on America is the most unfortunate in the book, as it is full of errors, some of them very serious, which we shall have occasion to expose in another part of this article.

In the general distribution of his subject, and in the arrangement of particulars so as to preserve clearness and continuity of interest, without violating chronology or interrupting the thread of events, Mr. Alison's history may sustain a comparison even with the magnificent work of Gibbon ; and his subject is hardly inferior in splendor, magnitude, and importance, to the " Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." He is quite a master, also, of what may be called historical perspective, by which leading events and characters are brought forward with due prominence, while the minor occurrences and personages are left in the background. We could wish that he did not remind us of Gibbon in another respect, — the most exceptionable peculiarities of his style. The imitation is here quite obvious, though it is not a happy one, and we object altogether to the choice of a model so faulty and vicious, even in its copiousness and magnificence. Mr. Alison's style is always stately, artificial, and ornate ; but it wants the richness of illustration and the epigrammatic turns which lend attraction even to the glaring faults of Gibbon. It is too uniformly balanced and modulated, with sentences " of formal cut," the different members of which are often helped out with superfluous epithets, in order to sustain

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the rhythm. It is abundant, flowing, and, for the most part, perspicuous; but it is sadly deficient in ease, grace, and naturalness. It betrays labor. The writer is evidently thinking of his garb, and doing his utmost to appear at advantage; and, consequently, the reader's attention is continually diverted from the narrative to the language. Mr. Alison has not a very fertile imagination, but he is ambitious of ornament, and his favorite metaphors and comparisons, which are neither novel nor striking, are repeated till the reader loathes their presence, and are often huddled together with little regard to sense or correctness. It is remarkable that a style, which is evidently studied and elaborate, should be so frequently loose and incorrect. We need not go far in search of faults, for there is hardly a page that does not contain them. The following may be taken as a sample of their quality.

"It was not the ripple of a minute that burst upon the shore, but the long swell of the Atlantic, wafted from distant realms, and heaved on the bosom of remote antiquity." — Vol. I. p. 14.

"*The long swell of the Atlantic, heaved on the bosom of remote antiquity*," is a figure quite worthy of Mr. Robert Montgomery, or, as he is usually called, Satan Montgomery. Another extraordinary application of metaphorical language is found in the following sentence.

"*A connected chain of words, which float unchanged through the otherwise forgotten floods of time*, may be traced from the tribes of the Caucasian range to the Cordilleras of Mexico and Peru." — Vol. X. p. 279.

"Mr. Hume has said, that fanaticism was the disgrace of the great rebellion, and that we shall look in vain among the popular leaders of England at that period for the generous sentiments which animated the patriots of antiquity; but, without disputing the absurdity of many of their tenets, and the ridiculous nature of much in their manners, it may safely be affirmed, that such *fervor* was the only effectual *bridle* which could be imposed on human depravity, when the ordinary restraints of law and order were at an end, and that, but for that fanaticism, they (?) would have been disgraced by the proscriptions of Marius, or the executions of Robespierre." — Vol. I. p. 213.

It is not easy to see what kind of *fervor* is here spoken of; and any excitement of feeling is usually regarded rather

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as a *spur* than a *bridle*. We cannot perceive how the patriot leaders of England, under any circumstances, could have been disgraced by proscriptions that were made centuries before, or by executions which took place centuries after, the period of their own existence. The whole sentence is loose, awkward, and incorrect, to the last degree.

"It is such men, in every age, who have ultimately obtained the lead in public convulsions; like the vultures which, invisible in ordinary times, are attracted, by an unerring instinct, to the scene of blood, and reap the last fruits of the discord and violence of others." — *Ibid.*

We never supposed that vultures were "invisible in ordinary times," nor that they were wont to "reap the fruits" of the discord of "other" — vultures, as the writer seems to assert. The following are fair specimens of our author's habit of running down his favorite metaphors.

"Amidst the expiring embers of civilized institutions, they spread the flames of barbarian independence; on the decayed stock of urban liberty, they engrafted the vigorous shoots of pastoral freedom." — Vol. I. p. 17.

"On the ancient stock of Saxon independence, the English engrafted the shoots of modern liberty; in its stead, the French planted the unknown tree of equality. In the British Isles, the plant has become deeply rooted, and expanded widely, in its native air; time will show whether the French have not wasted their endeavours in training an exotic unsuited to the climate, and unfruitful in the soil." — Vol. I. p. 121.

These are marked instances of incorrectness and bad taste in composition, and would detract seriously from the reputation of the writer, were they not balanced by some excellent qualities of style. The narrative is generally clear and animated, and the descriptions are often vivid and picturesque. The moving story of the trial and execution of Louis is finely told; and the pictures of most of the great battles fought by Napoleon, particularly those of Eylau, Friedland, and Wagram, are drawn with great vigor, distinctness, and effect. The fearful history of France, during the Reign of Terror, which has so often tasked the descriptive powers of the most eloquent writers of our age, was never presented in a manner more forcible and impressive than that of Mr. Alison. Indeed, when he is simply carrying forward

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the narrative, and relating the various events as they occurred, his style is generally clear, vigorous, and in good taste. It is only when he stops to moralize on the several occurrences, and when he is beset by the pestilent ambition of fine writing, that his language becomes tumid, labored, and incorrect. It had been well for him, if he had kept in mind the remark of an able critic, that "half of the affectation and offensive pretension we meet with in authors, arises from a paltry ambition of being eloquent and ingenious out of place."

We could wish that the reflections, with which Mr. Alison has loaded his narrative, were not open to more serious objections, — that they did not so frequently rest on preconceived opinions, on national and party prejudices, — that they were not so generally superficial and commonplace. Many lessons are taught with terrible effect by the great events of the French Revolution, and the observer is sadly deficient in sagacity and penetration, who can find in them nothing but a solemn warning against the evils of democracy. We do not object to this moral of the story, so far as it goes. Every friend of free institutions, every loud-tongued advocate of the rights of the people and of their capacity to elect their own rulers and manage their own affairs, may learn wisdom and moderation from the crimes and the punishment of the French Jacobins, and the delusion and sufferings of the French people. But the same history gives a warning quite as impressive to the favorers of aristocratic governments, and the prejudiced opponents of all reform. It shows that oppression and misrule, the obstinate retention of old customs, and the bigoted support of the privileges of the few against the rights and the wants of the many, may be equally destructive to both parties in the state, — to the ruling powers, who may be exposed ultimately to every species of injury and outrage from an exasperated populace, and to the uninstructed people, who may be taught by mournful experience what a sad and difficult task it is to govern themselves. Mr. Alison reads but half the lesson, and thereby commits as great an error as if he had never opened the book. He has not coolness and judgment enough to weigh all the facts on the record, and to draw a conclusion which shall harmonize with all, and be applicable with certainty to future cases. His mind is not sufficiently comprehensive to take in all the

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aspects and bearings of his subject, nor sufficiently acute to perceive how often his story contradicts the moral that is drawn from it. He is fair and candid as a narrator, but not as a reasoner, and he very ingenuously supplies the materials for contradicting his own theories.

There are different modes of considering the great drama of the French Revolution, according to the several points of view assumed by the different historians, or the bias which is given to their reflections by their preëstablished opinions on the nature of various governments. The French republican writers have inclined, of late, to speak of the whole course of events as directed by an irresistible fatality, by which the actors in them were impelled to do a work that was often repugnant to their feelings and wishes, and which produced results that they had never contemplated. They were passive agents in the hands of a terrible Destiny, and, therefore, were not accountable either for the follies or the crimes which they committed. Fate willed that the Revolution should take place, — that it should go on and prosper, — though disorder, suffering, and criminality of every kind, were the attendants or the means of its progress. The nobles were exiled, religion was suppressed, prisoners were butchered, the King was murdered, cartloads of men and women, of all ranks and classes, were dragged daily to the guillotine, because it was necessary that these things should be, in order that a reaction should not take place in favor of tyranny, and that France should not be overrun by the armies of the stranger. No detestation is expressed of the character and motives of the agents in this fearful work, but only admiration and respect for the terrible energy and audacity which they showed, in vindicating the rights of man and saving their country. Many innocent victims fell, but their sufferings and death, and the general misery and anarchy that prevailed, ought not to be regretted, since all was necessary for the safety of the republic.

This is the theory of the Revolution, which is set forth by Thiers, Carlyle, and some other popular writers of the day, and certainly a more detestable one was never framed. It is quite a prevalent one in France, where extravagant speculations on history and politics meet with a more favorable reception than in most other countries. We have ourselves conversed with intelligent Frenchmen who openly

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defended these views, saying that the Reign of Terror was indeed a terrible thing, but it was inevitable, and the only mistake committed was in putting a stop to it too soon, for many political calamities thereby occurred, which might have been averted, if a few more thousand heads had fallen. Mr. Alison is a conscientious and pious man, and he rejects this theory, as repugnant alike to all moral and humane feelings, and to common sense. Unluckily, he puts one in its place, which varies quite as widely from the truth, by going to the opposite extreme. We shall have occasion to consider his views at length; but, meanwhile, we must say a word on a slight modification of the French estimate of the Revolution, which finds some upholders in this country.

This doctrine is, that the crimes of the Jacobin party in France, however atrocious in themselves and melancholy in their consequences, ought not to draw down general indignation on the direct authors of them, but rather on the privileged classes in France, whose contempt for popular rights and continued oppression of the lower orders finally brought upon their own heads a long delayed and righteous retribution. We do not suppose, that persons who look at the subject in this light wish to justify all the acts of Danton, Marat, and Robespierre; but they desire to call off our attention from the infernal proceedings of these men, and to fix it on the noble object which they had in view. But we do not believe in the propriety of hiding such crimes from notice, nor in the justice of the plea which is set up in order to palliate them. The people who cannot vindicate their personal rights and national independence, except by such means as these, do not deserve to be free. It may be true, that a salutary warning to all oppressive governments is offered by the terrible severities practised by the French Revolutionists; but these same acts have brought a reproach on the whole cause of freedom and reform, and go far to justify the arbitrary proceedings of rulers, who may stop the first outbreak of popular spirit, and allege their motive to be a just regard to the rights of humanity and the welfare of their subjects. It must be remembered, that the Revolutionary tribunal was set up, and the Jacobin party began its inhuman career, long after the real contest was decided, and the first object of the struggle was gained. The battle of freedom was fought and won in 1789. After the capture of

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the Bastille, on the 14th of July in that year, the whole power was virtually taken from the hands of the King, and lodged in the National Assembly. All the privileges of the nobility and the feudal burdens were destroyed in a single night, on the motion of the nobles themselves; tithes were suppressed, and the ecclesiastical property was seized for the benefit of the state; the trial by jury was fixed by law, *lettres de cachet* were done away, the national guard was organized, the most oppressive imposts were abolished, and, to crown all, a right of suffrage, as liberal as that which now exists in Massachusetts, was determined by the constitution, and thereby the principle of universal equality was recognized, and all authority was admitted to flow from the people. The free government established with these provisions and safeguards existed for three years, till the fatal 10th of August, 1792, when the populace of Paris established the sacred right of insurrection, and anarchy and butchery began. The Jacobins then ruled France with a rod of iron for nearly two years, and a more cruel and tyrannical government never existed under the worst of the Roman emperors or the despots of the East than in their "free and indivisible republic." We see not how it is possible to find either cause or palliation for their proceedings in the circumstances which preceded, or in those which were contemporary with, the establishment of their power. It is an outrage on common sense, to affirm that they were rendered necessary either to vindicate or preserve the liberty of the country.

Besides, most of the victims during the Reign of Terror were neither the persons who opposed the Revolution, nor those whose crimes had brought it on. Many of them had had nothing to do with the course of public events; many others were among the earliest advocates and defenders of the rights of the people. By their fate, the terrible prophecy of Vergniaud was accomplished, and "the Revolution, like Saturn, devoured its own children." If some of the nobles were rightfully put to death, because the order to which hey belonged once exercised odious privileges, and had been guilty of oppressive acts, surely, no similar consideration justified the execution of Bailly and Brissot, the first apostles of French liberty. If it was necessary to visit the sins of former monarchs on the head of their innocent descendant, Louis the Sixteenth, we see not what crimes were expiated

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by the death of M. de Malesherbes, his aged and eloquent defender at the bar of the Convention. If it was right to execute the Queen, in order to terrify the royalists, and because she once incited the King to oppose the Revolution, we cannot perceive why Madame Roland, also, was sent to the guillotine. The truth is, the Committees of Public Safety and of General Safety, in whose hands the whole power was lodged during the period of Jacobin rule, were opposed by other factions, equally ambitious and reckless with themselves; and, knowing that their own immediate adherents were few and weak, they sought to strike down opposition, or to silence it through terror, by causing blood to flow in torrents. Meanwhile, they had the address to persuade the ignorant people, that only aristocrats and royalists were sent to the guillotine, and that their death was necessary in order to save the country. Among these aristocrats were such men as the half insane Anacharsis Clootz, and the miserable Hébert; among these royalists were Danton, who planned the massacres of September, and Westermann, who commanded the mob when they attacked the Tuileries on the 10th of August. Robespierre was never supported but by a small minority in the Convention; but the success of his system of terror was evident enough, for the majority dared not vote against him, until he was about to send them, also, to the scaffold. Then, indeed, they gained courage for a desperate effort, and the monster fell.

It may appear strange, that the people could be so far deluded as to support the miserable and cruel faction that wielded, for so long a time, the destinies of the country. But the explanation of the fact is obvious enough. The better portion of the community, the intelligent and the educated, had been driven into exile, or were shut up in prisons, or were rendered dumb through terror. The lower classes, composed of the vile populace of the most corrupt of European cities, and of the uninstructed peasantry, intoxicated by a sudden accession of power, and alarmed by exaggerated reports of foreign invasion, could not be pacified except by immediate and striking proofs of the boldness and efficiency of their government. The war raged upon the frontiers, out of their view and hearing; but they could imagine that it was ably conducted, when every unlucky general was brought home and guillotined before their own doors. They could

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believe that the persons at the head of affairs were active and earnest in the cause of the people, when crowds of victims were daily sacrificed under the denomination of aristocrats and traitors. Distress and famine prevailed, for the crops were short, and the ruin of commerce and manufactures, consequent on the destruction of confidence, and the withdrawal or concealment of capital, threw vast numbers out of employment. Irritated by suffering, and unwilling to believe that the country could be reduced to so unhappy a state from natural causes, when its political condition was so much improved, they ascribed all their misfortunes to the machinations of the banished nobility, of the persecuted clergy, of the prisoners already immured in their dungeons, or of traitors within their own councils. The Convention and the Committees could not give them bread, but they could deliver up victims in abundance, as objects of popular vengeance. When the proceedings of the revolutionary tribunal were not speedy enough for the impatient ferocity of the multitude, the cry of "a conspiracy within the prisons" was raised, and the wretched inmates of these dwellings were dragged forth without a trial, and butchered at the doors. The revolutionary passions of the people were kept constantly awake by the display of new objects to be obtained by their activity and daring; the present misery which they endured was represented as the effect of the opposition offered by the royalists to the progress of innovation; and the populace were dazzled by the prospect of boundless felicity, when the liberty and equality for which they contended should be fully established.

There has been some dispute respecting the extent to which blood was shed in France, while it was under the sway of the Jacobins. Mr. Alison adopts the estimate of Prudhomme, a republican writer, whose prepossessions certainly would not lead him to exaggerate the horrors of that period. According to his account, 18,603 persons were guillotined by order of the Revolutionary Tribunal. This number is definitely ascertained. The other statements are more vaguely given, being formed in part from conjecture. Thirty-two thousand fell victims at Nantes, when the Jacobin agent, Carrier, visited that city; and, of this number, more than twenty-seven hundred were women or children, who were either shot or drowned. Thirty-one thousand perished

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at Lyons, under Fouché, Couthon, and Collot d'Herbois. This estimate does not include those who were killed at the Abbaye, the Carmes, and the other prisons, on the 2d of September, or the victims of the Glacière at Avignon, or the inhabitants of the little town of Bedoin, all of whom perished. If we take into the account those who fell during the protracted and bloody struggle in La Vendée, the aggregate will be swelled to more than a million. But these last died in battle, or were killed in hot blood, during the fury and excitement of a civil war, and ought not, therefore, to be reckoned with the others, who may be considered as the proper victims of the Revolution. The whole number of these cannot fall far short of eighty thousand.

It is not a very appalling amount, say some writers; more have fallen in two or three great battles; more perished by violent means every year during Napoleon's career of destructive conquest. We cannot reason on the matter thus coldly, for death on the battle-field is quite a different thing from death on the scaffold. War is a great game, played by soldiers, in which life is the stake, and is cheerfully surrendered, when fortune goes against them. They are prepared for their fate, for the chances of its occurrence enter into the deliberate estimate which they form of the good and evil attached to their unhappy profession. But the victims of civil disturbances, sacrificed by popular frenzy, or by the unrighteous judgment of a civil tribunal, or the subjects of a deliberate massacre, are called upon to surrender life under circumstances most fearful to them, and most revolting to humanity. Death is embittered by the consciousness that it is undeserved, and by the want of preparation, which unguarded innocence fails to make. The heart is not steeled against the coming of the king of terrors, in a dungeon, or in a popular tumult, as it is in the presence of assembled armies, and in the excitement of a charge or an assault. A general who had braved all the dangers of war might well be unmanned at the prospect of being seized by a mob in the streets, and hung up at a lantern-post. The proper distinction between such cases is made by the very instinct of nature. The fall of a single head by an unjust sentence is felt to be a greater wrong, it shocks our moral feelings more, than the slaughter of hundreds in a military contest. We do not seek to palliate the enormities of war,

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but we no more confound them in character with the horrors of a massacre in cold blood, than we do with the sufferings and deaths caused by a famine, a pestilence, or any other of the judgments of God.

From the tenor of these remarks, Mr. Alison may well infer, that we are not disposed to conceal or excuse the extravagances and crimes committed by the Revolutionary party in France. But we are still less inclined to adopt the lesson which he derives from them, and to inculcate which seems to be the leading purpose of his History. In his eyes, the French Revolution was a great experiment to test the sufficiency of popular rule, and the expediency of making any innovations in a form of government; and his conclusion is, that the evils which marked its rise and progress, the iron despotism to which it was reduced by Napoleon, and the final conquest of France by the Allies, with the consequent wreck of all the hopes which the movement party had entertained, have for ever decided the question against the cause of the people and of reform. At least, these events, he thinks, have proved what fatal consequences must ensue from the progress of democracy; for he seems despondingly to admit, that this progress is inevitable, and that the cause of the people must ultimately triumph, though by the ruin of all the higher interests of humanity. "Experience in every age," he observes, "has abundantly proved that the fervor of democracy is fatal to the best interests of mankind, and rapidly leads to the greatest miseries to all classes, because it subjects society to the guidance of those who are least qualified to direct it; but yet that it is of all passions the most difficult to eradicate from the human heart, and, when once it is generally diffused, whole generations of political fanatics must be destroyed, before it can be reduced to a degree consistent with order." "The successive ambition and passions of the different bodies who rise to eminence soon occasion that frightful effusion of blood, or those wild and anarchical measures, which, by involving whole classes in destruction, necessarily lead, though by a painful process, to a restoration of the natural order of society. This it is, which, in every age, has made democratic madness terminate in military despotism; *this is the great moral to be derived from the history of the French Revolution.*"—Vol. II. p. 226.

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Mr. Alison appears to have been haunted by the spectre of democracy, till it has nearly unhinged his reason. In no other way can we explain the extravagance of his language respecting it, the frequency and earnestness with which he returns to the topic, or the contradictory assertions which he makes in his eagerness to point out all the mischiefs and dangers to which it leads. To illustrate his manner of handling this theme, we quote a few paragraphs, which might be multiplied at pleasure, for kindred passages are thickly scattered throughout the ten massive octavos of his History, and seem to contain, in his opinion, the whole philosophy of the subject.

"The reasonings of the learned, the declamations of the ardent, the visions of the philanthropic, have generally been rather directed against the oppression of sovereigns or nobles, than the madness of the people. This affords the most decisive demonstration that the evils flowing from the latter are much greater and more acute than those which have originated with the former; for it proves that the former have been so tolerable as to have long existed, and, therefore, have been long complained of, whereas those springing from the latter have been intolerable, and speedily led to their own abolition. The evils of democracy, when intrusted with the direction of public affairs, have in every age been found to be so excessive that they have immediately produced its overthrow; and thus the experience of individuals does not in every age present the same numerous examples of democratic, that it does of aristocratic oppression; just because the former species of government is so dreadful, that it invariably in every old community destroys itself in a single generation, while the latter often maintains its dominion for hundreds, or even thousands of years. History, indeed, is full of warnings of the terrible conflagration which democracy never fails to light up in society; and it is a secret consciousness of the damning force with which it overturns their doctrines, that makes the popular party everywhere treat its records with such contempt. But how many of the great body of the people, even in the best-informed community, make themselves masters of historical information? Not one in a hundred. Thus, in a period of political convulsion, history points in vain to the awful beacons of former ruin, to warn mankind of the near approach of shipwreck; while perfidious democracy, ever alive to the force of falsehood, or misled by the deceitfulness of sin, again for the hundredth time allures the unsuspecting multitude by the exhibition of the forbidden fruit; and popular change is eagerly

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longed for by the simple masses, just because its evils are so excessive that they invariably quickly terminate the republican regime; actual personal experience can rarely be appealed to as to the effect of a contagion which almost always consigns its victims to the grave. And thus it is that the strength of revolution consists in the very magnitude of the falsehoods on which its promises are founded, and the universally felt impossibility of bringing them, for any considerable time, to the test of actual experience." — Vol. x. pp. 510, 511.

"The reason why, in every age of the world, the triumph of democracy has immediately, or at least shortly, been followed by the destruction of all the best interests of society, and the total ruin in particular of the whole principles of freedom for which it itself contended, is clearly illustrated by experience; and the moment it is stated, it must be seen to be one of universal application. It is not that the working classes of the community are in themselves more depraved or more corrupted than the classes who possess property and have acquired information. It is probable that all men, in every rank of life, when exposed to the influence of the same temptations, are pretty nearly the same. But there is this difference between them, and it is an essential one in its ultimate effects upon the interests of mankind that, though the dispositions of the Aristocratic or Conservative party may be just as selfish at bottom as those of the Democratic, there are several causes which permanently retain them in a comparatively fixed, safe, and beneficial course of government, and which, as they depend on general principles, may be expected to be of universal application." — Vol. x. pp. 511, 512.

"'The rule of a mob,' says Aristotle, 'is the worst of tyrannies'; and so experience has proved it, from the caprice of the Athenian democracy, to the proscriptions of the French Revolution. The reason is permanent, and must remain unaltered while society holds together. In contests for power, a monarch has, in general, to dread only the efforts of a rival for the throne; an aristocracy, the ascendency of a faction in the nobility; the populace, the vengeance of all the superior classes in the state. Hence, the safety of the first is usually secured by the destruction of a single rival, and his immediate adherents; the jealousy of the second, extinguished by the proscription or exile of a limited number of families; but the terrors of the last require the destruction of whole ranks in society. Measures, dictated by the alarm for individuals, become necessary when they have perished; those levelled against the influence of classes require to be pursued till the class itself is destroyed.

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"It was not a mere thirst for blood which made Marat and Robespierre declare and act upon the principle, that there could be no security for the Republic till two hundred and sixty thousand heads had fallen. Hardly any men are cruel for cruelty's sake; the leaders of the Jacobins were not more so than the reckless and ambitious of any other country would be, if exposed to the influence of similar passions. Ambition is the origin of desperate measures, because it renders men sensible only of the dictates of an insatiable passion; terror is the real source of cruelty. Men esteem the lives of others lightly, when their own are at stake. The revolutionary innovations being directed against the whole aristocratic and influential classes, their vengeance was felt to be implacable, and no security could be expected to the democratical leaders, till their whole opponents were destroyed." — Vol. II. pp. 31, 32.

"The professed object of the Decemvirs was, to establish a Republic in France, after the model of the ancients, to change the manners, the habits, the public spirit of the country. Sovereignty in the people, magistrates without pride, citizens without vice, simplicity of manners, fraternity of relations, austerity of character; such were the basis on which their institutions were to rest. There was one objection to them, that they were utterly impracticable, from the character of the great body of mankind. To accomplish this object, it was indispensable to destroy the whole superior classes of society, to cut off all those who were preëminent among their neighbours, either for fortune, rank, talent, or acquirement. This was the end accordingly proposed in the indiscriminate massacres which they put in execution. And what would have been its consequence, if completely carried into effect? To sink the whole human race to the level of the lowest classes, and destroy every thing which dignifies or adorns human nature. Such was the chimera which they followed through these oceans of blood. Politicians have no right, after such proceedings, to reproach religious enthusiasm with the reign of the saints, or the approach of the millennium." — Vol. II. p. 179.

What opinion, by way of contrast, Mr. Alison has been led to form of aristocratic and monarchical governments, will appear from the following extracts.

"'It has been often observed,' says Mr. Hume, 'that there is a wide difference between the judgment which befalls the conduct of others and that which we ourselves pursue when placed in similar circumstances. The reason is obvious; in judging of others, we are influenced by our reason and our feelings; in act-

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ing for ourselves, we are directed by our reason, our feelings, *and our desires.*' In this simple observation is to be found the key, both to the fatal corruption which democratic ascendency never fails to produce in the state, and to the more effectual check which, in conservative ascendency, is provided at once against its own tendency to selfish projects, and the dangerous encroachments of the other classes of society. When the holders of property are in power, and the masses are in vigilant but restrained opposition, the majority of the community, who give the tone to public thought, necessarily incline to the support of virtuous and patriotic principles, because they have no interest to do otherwise. Hence, although doubtless in such communities some abuses do prevail, and will prevail to the end of the world, from the universal tendency to corruption in mankind, when acting for themselves, and actuated by their own interests, yet, upon the whole, the administration of affairs is comparatively pure and virtuous, and the community obtains a larger share of good government than has ever yet been obtained under any other form of human institutions. Above all, in such circumstances, the public mind is preserved untainted; public spirit is general, and forms the mainspring of national action; and this invaluable temper of mind, more precious far than all laws or political institutions, not only preserves the heart of the nation entire, and forms a salutary control upon the measures of the holders of power, but, by influencing the very atmosphere which they breathe, imparts a large share of its glorious spirit to those in possession of its reins, and open to its seductions. And hence the long-continued public spirit and greatness of the British and Roman empires, and of all communities in which power has been for a long period in possession of the holders of property, and the general thought has been directed by the aristocracy of intellect.

"But all this is totally reversed, when the popular leaders get themselves installed in power, and the democratic party are in possession of an irresistible preponderance in the state. The moment that this fatal change occurs, a total revolution takes place, not merely in the conduct of government, but in the vigilance with which they are guarded and watched by the great body of the people. The holders of power, and the dispensers of influence, find themselves surrounded by a host of hungry dependents, to whom necessity is law; and who, impelled by a secret consciousness that their political ascendency is not destined to be of long duration, because they are disqualified to maintain it, strive only to make the best use of their time, by providing for themselves and their relations at the public ex-

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pense, without the slightest regard to any consideration of the public advantage. On the other hand, the great body of the people, formerly so loud in their clamors against corruption, and their demand for a virtuous and patriotic administration of public affairs, now quietly pass by on the other side, and either openly and with shameless effrontery defend every species of abuse, because they profit by it, or preserve a studious silence, and endeavour to huddle up those nefarious, and to them beneficial excesses, under the cry of a reformation of the state in some other department, or a wider extension of the power from which their leaders derive such considerable benefit. Thus, not only is the power and influence of government immediately directed to the most corrupt and selfish purposes, but legislation itself becomes tainted with the same inherent and universal vice. In the general scramble, where every one seems on the look-out for himself, no other object is attended to but the promotion of separate interests, or class elevation; the public press seldom denounces, in general cordially supports, all such abuses, because their leaders, and the writers in its columns, are benefited by them; and, what is worst of all, public feeling becomes universally and irrevocably corrupted, because the great body of the people profit, or hope to profit, by the abuses in which the leaders of their party indulge." — Vol. x. pp. 515, 516.

"Since the creation of man, a vast majority, probably at least nine tenths, of the human race have existed under the government of single monarchs or chiefs, exercising nearly absolute power within their separate principalities. Not to mention other examples that must be familiar to every reader, the whole of Asia, embracing six hundred millions of inhabitants, or nearly two thirds of the whole human race, has, from the earliest period to the present hour, been uniformly governed by the absolute power of a single individual. Certain restraints upon the uncontrolled exercise of human power have no doubt existed in Asia as well as in other parts of the world; but they consist not in any limitation of power in the sultan or chief, but in his occasional dethronement; the remedy against the evils of oppression is, not the limitation of authority, but the murder of the despot. Great as have been the evils which in every age have flowed from the selfishness, the rapacity, and iniquities of these arbitrary governors of their species, it is yet evident that there must be some general and substantial benefits which have resulted from their rule, or it would long ago have been terminated by the common consent of mankind. Lightly as European independence may think of Asiatic despotism, philosophy will not despise a system of government under which two thirds of the

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human race have subsisted from the beginning of time; and which is so firmly rooted in universal consent that no amount of tyranny on the part of individual sovereigns, and no changes resulting from religion or conquest, have ever made them for one moment think of altering it. Whatever is found to have existed to a great extent among mankind for a very long period must necessarily have been attended with great practical advantages which have overbalanced its evils; and the sagacious observer of such institutions, if he cannot discover their utility, will rather suspect that his powers of observation have been defective, than that mankind, for so long a period, and over so great a surface, have obstinately persisted in what was destructive to themselves. But it is evident what has occasioned this uniformity of government in the East; the advantages of despotism are as clearly marked as its evils. They consist in the rude but effective coercion of human passion by the vigorous hand of single administration; the substitution, it may be, of the oppression of one for what certainly would be the licentiousness of all."—Vol. x. pp. 508, 509.

These are long extracts, but we have made them in order that the views of the historian may be fully placed before our readers, and in the hope that they will be read attentively, in connection with the following remarks. We might object to such sweeping conclusions respecting the character of men in general, and the influence of political institutions upon this character, on the ground that they rest on too narrow a basis, that they are deduced from a single experiment, which is quite insufficient to support so broad a theory. The pernicious effects of democratic power, and the general incapacity of men to govern themselves, are inferred from one trial, made in France, in 1792, under circumstances, according to Mr. Alison's own showing, most unfavorable to success. But we prefer to insist on the more general objection, that our author's speculations on the nature of different governments are made without any reference to the character of the people who are to be governed; that he seems to have no idea of such a thing as fitness and adaptation in matters of politics, or that one set of institutions may work admirably in one country, while it would produce nothing but confusion, discord, and unhappiness, in another. He appears to maintain, that a democracy, or a monarchy, is a good or evil thing in itself, irrespective of the habits, condition, and general intelligence of the people among

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whom it is established. To take an instance mentioned in the last of the foregoing extracts, Mr. Alison seems to think that perfect despotism is an excellent thing in central Asia. Does he believe that it might be safely introduced into the west of Europe? Is he quite sure that it would work equally well in England? He is bound to answer these questions in the affirmative, if he is entitled to argue against democratic institutions in general, on the ground that they were shamefully abused, and that they led to frightful excesses, in France, about half a century ago. No man, in the possession of his reason, would wish to establish a popular government for the serfs of Russia, the *lazzaroni* of Naples, or the licentious and degraded populace of Paris. And no man, except Mr. Alison, would suppose that the crimes of the populace last mentioned, when maddened by previous suffering, and suddenly emancipated from all external control, were fairly imputable to the cause of democracy.

Not the most earnest advocate of free institutions, we presume, would claim for them any power of modifying the whole national character, of rendering men better or wiser than they were before. This character may be more widely developed, and fully manifested, from the absence of the restraints imposed by a harsh and arbitrary government. But it will not be altered, except through the slow influence of improvements gradually introduced, of systems of education more widely diffused, and moral lessons more faithfully taught and scrupulously followed. The doctrine of the advocate of political reform, or, as Mr. Alison prefers to call it, of political innovation, is simply that, supposing men to be already wise and good enough for this particular end, freedom will make them happier. It will enable them to take care of their own interests, and, as they have the greatest stake in the matter, it is to be presumed that they will do this better than any person who is appointed, by the mere accident of birth or fortune, to do it for them. It is necessarily presupposed that they know already what these interests are, and how they will be affected by the measures of a government.

The argument which our author uses will be found, unluckily for him, to work both ways, and to be quite as destructive to the theory of the divine right of kings, as to the

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defence of the rights of the people. It is, surely, quite as reasonable to charge upon the cause of monarchy all the folly and wickedness of particular kings, as to make democracy accountable for the demerits of a particular republic. Mr. Alison has made out a long and heavy indictment against the people, recounting all the offences committed by the French revolutionists. No great knowledge of history is necessary in order to make out an equally black list of the sins of monarchs, and of a privileged nobility. There is little to choose between a Tiberius, a Louis the Eleventh, a Henry the Eighth, or a Venetian oligarchy, on the one hand, and a Danton, a Marat, a Robespierre, or a Parisian populace, on the other. "The martyrdom of Louis the Sixteenth," says our author, "has thrown a sainted light over the fall of the French monarchy." The death of Hampden, and Sidney, and Warren, and Bozzaris, has placed an imperishable halo over the cause of freedom and national independence. Such historical instances may be multiplied at will, but, unless they are investigated with a cautious reference to all the attendant circumstances, as many may be adduced on the one side as on the other, and the real point at issue is left quite undecided. Our author is certainly the last person to weigh them with fairness.

The failure of the hopes of the liberal party in France is to be ascribed as much to the extravagant expectations which they entertained, as to the unwise measures by which they sought to effect their purpose. Mr. Alison has successfully exposed the folly of some of their wild theories, and seems to imagine, that, having done so, he has effectually proved the inexpediency of any political reform. But we are not disposed to burden the cause of freedom with the necessity of defending the wild speculations and strange hopes, which were held out by the philosophers of the French Revolution. These men possessed genius, learning, taste, eloquence, philanthropic intentions, in fine, almost every high quality of heart and intellect, excepting piety and common sense. They did nearly as much injury to the cause which they had most at heart, by the delusions which they fostered in their writings and speeches, as by the false measures which they adopted in action. A free government implies equality of political privileges, but it cannot create — what these men claimed as a consequence of it — equality of social condition. De-

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mocracy will bake no bread for the people ; it will not remove the necessity of labor. It will not take away those original and unequal endowments which are the primitive cause of the ordinary distinctions of society, and which seem to establish the principle, as a law of God and nature, that there must be an aristocracy of talent, and a consequent unequal distribution of the goods of this life. Attack the institution of property, if you will ; but, unless you effect a new distribution of wealth every month, be sure that, before the end of the year, there will be as great a difference as ever between the fortunes of individuals. All the political changes, which the most prolific theorist can conceive, will not obviate this result, for they cannot do away with the fundamental difference in men's characters, from which it proceeds.

We may remark, in passing, that Mr. Alison is a little unfair in charging the leaders of the Revolution, even at its worst period, with a direct attack upon property. They resorted to forced requisitions, it is true, and graduated the compulsory loan on their estimate of the wealth of the individual, making it increase in a rapidly ascending ratio, according to his supposed power to bear it. But in so doing, they only adopted — carrying it a little farther, perhaps — a principle of taxation which has been put in use by every civilized government on the globe. England is practising upon it at this moment, in her property tax. But the French patriots committed nearly as great an error as that charged upon them by our author, when they encouraged the populace to expect, that the reforms which they were introducing into the government would bring about a political millennium, that social equality would be established, and equal means of happiness be placed in the hands of all, by the indirect yet speedy influence of the new constitution.

It is not true, what Mr. Alison and the *doctrinaires* of French politics, though with very different motives, have maintained, that democracy presupposes either the perfection or the perfectibility of the human race. It does not require that the whole people should be absolutely wise and absolutely virtuous, but only that the majority of them should be as intelligent, as well-informed, and as well-disposed, as are the majority of kings. This is not claiming much for them, considering the character of many who have occupied

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a throne in Europe. The dream about the perfectibility of the species has visited the imaginations of philosophers and speculative men in every age, and, it must be confessed, with little profit either to themselves or others ; but we are quite sure, that this fanciful speculation is as valid for all purposes of political discussion, as are the theological considerations, through which Mr. Alison seeks to disprove the capacity of men to govern themselves. "It is not difficult to see," he observes, "what it is which in every age has led to the speedy discomfiture of every project formed for the improvement of human institutions based on democratic principles. It is the principle of HUMAN CORRUPTION."* This doctrine he explains, according to his own view of it, as follows ; "That every individual is born innocent, but with dispositions to evil, and dispositions so strong that in no instance whatever is their effect altogether avoided" ; and he goes on to assert that "an insensibility to this doctrine, or determination to resist it, is the real cause of the whole of the innumerable disasters which, in every age, have made democratic ascendency terminate in misery, bloodshed, and ruin." We respect the motives which may induce a writer to employ an argument of this character, although we may wonder at his simplicity. Is it possible he does not see, that this principle, like every other Scriptural doctrine, introduced in such a discussion, and for such a purpose, is a two-edged sword which cuts in both directions ? In our eyes, at least, total depravity on a throne is quite as formidable as total depravity among the people. Nay, it is rather more so ; for, as selfishness is a great element of human depravity, and as, by common consent, the "greatest good of the greatest number" is the object to be attained, it would seem that the selfishness of the greatest number, if they had the power in their own hands, would be an incentive and a help for the accomplishment of this purpose ; whereas, the selfishness of kings and nobles, they being the smaller number, tends directly to defeat the happiness of the multitude. The superior acquirements of a race of monarchs, or of a privileged class, arising from their superior education, cannot obviate the effects of the evil motives and dispositions by which, according to this theory, all men are actuated. This supe-

* Vol. X. p 503. The capitals are Mr. Alison's own.

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riority will only add to their capacity of doing wrong, and enable them more effectively to pursue their own interests, to the neglect or injury of those of the whole people.

Our author's reasoning is still more faulty, when, in drawing a comparison between the different kinds of government, he comes to speak of the greater cruelty of a democratic power, proceeding from the greater number of enemies whom it has to encounter or to fear. A monarch, he observes, aims to destroy only a single rival for the throne ; a nobility has nothing to dread but the existence of a faction in its own body ; while the populace fears the vengeance of all the superior classes in the state, and, therefore, endeavours to banish or extirpate them all. In the first place, this reasoning does not apply, except during the period of a revolution ; for, after the popular sway is permanently established, there are no bodies of men whose privileges or rights are disturbed by its continuance. In this country, for instance, we have no kings or nobles to dread or to persecute, since the institutions to which they belong never fairly took root in American soil. It is idle to argue from the confusion, cruelty, and bloodshed, which almost necessarily attend any great political change, against the character of the government which is formed and established by such violent means, but which exists long after the necessity of using them is done away. We do not estimate the excellence of an individual's constitution from the height to which the delirium rises, when he is in the crisis of a violent fever, but from the vigor and powers of endurance which he displays, when he is in an ordinary state of health. The character and tendency of different political institutions must be inferred from the effects produced during a long series of years, after the excitement of revolutionary passion has died out, and when the ordinary workings of the machine of state show how the interests of humanity are to be affected by it in the long run. Fortunately, some republics have lasted long enough to afford the necessary *data* for settling the question in this way, and the result may be quite unlike the conclusion adopted by Mr. Alison. A little reflection would have enabled him, from the events which he has himself consigned to history, to correct the erroneous premises upon which he has argued the question. After the fall of the Jacobins in 1794, and till the establishment of the Consular power in 1799, a purely

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republican government existed in France, under the Directory ; and, though faulty enough in other respects, it is no more open to the charge of cruelty than any of the aristocratic or monarchical governments with which it contended.

But we go further in our objections to the extraordinary argument here used by the historian. We wholly deny his proposition, that a democracy is more cruel than a regal or an aristocratic government, because it has more enemies to fear. Rival candidates for the throne are not the only or the most formidable foes which disturb the security of monarchs. They have also to dread the hostility of their people, and it is not often by lenient means that they attempt to subdue the insurrectionary spirit. It is as much the interest, and it has been as much the custom, of kings to crush their disaffected subjects by severe measures, as of a revolted people to take a bloody revenge for the misery and oppression which they have suffered. Charles the First and Louis the Sixteenth perished on the scaffold, victims, it may be, of the unjust resentment of those whom they formerly governed. But we cannot think only of them, or of other murdered kings ; for a noble army of martyrs in the patriotic cause, as distinguished and far more numerous than they, also claim our sympathies. Nor is the case much better for Mr. Alison's assertion, if we compare the clemency of the nobles with that of the people. The detestable oligarchy of Venice became a byword among the nations for its cruelty. Has our author never heard of the " Bridge of Sighs," or of the " Lion's mouth " in the ducal palace, or of the hundred stories connected with them, as terrible as any relating to the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris ? The history of the Roman Patriciate is that of one long-continued struggle, not merely of opposing factions within their own body, but also of the whole order with the Plebeians, or the mass of the people, whom they oppressed ; and the fate of the Gracchi proves that the victory of the nobles was not always a bloodless one.

And this leads us to remark on another of the extraordinary applications of historical facts, which Mr. Alison makes in support of his reasoning. We refer to his allusion to the devastating conquests of other countries by the Roman legions, and to the oppression practised upon the subjugated provinces, as instances of " the evils which republican ambi-

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tion brings upon mankind." We refer our readers to a passage, (Vol. X. page 510,) which we have not room to quote. We have read history differently. Most of the foreign wars undertaken by the misnamed republic seem to us to have grown out of the crimes or the fears of the nobility. Their aggressive conduct provoked hostilities, and they welcomed the war as a means of draining off into the army the overflowing population, whom they could not, at the same time, feed and keep in subjection at home. The people often refused to enlist, till they had obtained a redress of grievances from the Senate, and that body frequently saw with pleasure the progress of a foreign enemy, which relieved them from more formidable domestic foes. The enmity of other countries was provoked, and insurrections excited in the conquered provinces, by no cause so frequently as by the unjust, rapacious, and oppressive conduct of those scions of the Patriciate who were sent abroad as proconsuls and generals of the armies. Besides, the most extensive foreign conquests were made, just at the time when even the poor semblance of a republic was tottering to its fall, and by the very men who caused its overthrow. Julius Cesar carried the eagles of the legions much farther than they were ever borne by his predecessors, and by this success prepared the way for a victory over the aristocratic faction which supported his rival, and over the liberties of his country. It is true, there was a popular element in the administration, but it was so skilfully checked and balanced by the distribution of electoral power, and by the art, wealth, and influence of the nobles, that it existed less in reality than in name. Our historian is welcome to all the illustrations, which he can gather from Roman history, of the evil effects of popular power, even when the state was considered free. He may even push his researches further, and, from a comparison of the history of the Empire with the annals of the Republic, gain some new light respecting the tendencies of different forms of government. Whatever oppression and cruelty were practised by Rome under the consuls, or to whatever party in the state these unjust acts may be attributed, we fancy no one will consider them as equal, in respect of their injurious effects upon the well-being of mankind, to the manifestations of wickedness and folly by many of the Roman emperors.

But the most striking illustration of his argument, because

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it is the best known and the easiest to be studied, is found in the practical operation of the republican institutions of this country. Mr. Alison's chapter on America is an elaborate and interesting one, though it is so slenderly connected — through the late war with England — with his main subject, the history of Europe during the French Revolution, that we suspect it would hardly have found a place in his work, if it had not been for its intimate bearing on the political discussion, into which he enters with so much earnestness. It is quite apparent, then, that a strong bias existed in his mind, when he first undertook a general summary of information respecting the condition, politics, and prospects, of the United States. The lesson taught by American experience of a popular government was previously determined by his feelings and prejudices, and he investigated the subject in order to discover evidence only on one side. In such a case, it was inevitable that he should make blunders, but we were not prepared to find them so numerous and glaring as seriously to impair the credibility of other portions of his work.

With his usual caution, he has given the authorities in the margin for the principal statements in the text, and therefore it is only in the incidental and unguarded allusions to facts, made in the middle of a sentence, that he falls into the gross errors in which he is wholly unsupported by the testimony of others. But Mr. Alison's experience ought to have taught him, that further precautions were required; that it was necessary, not only to accumulate, but to weigh authorities, in order that he might not go on merely repeating the blunders or the calumnies of other writers. De Tocqueville and Chevalier were tolerably safe guides, though even into their works, the theoretical and generalizing spirit peculiar to a Frenchman has led to the introduction of some unfounded or exaggerated statements. But what persuaded our author to follow with implicit credence in the track of the whole herd of English tourists, — to trust such observers as Captain Hall and Miss Martineau? Most of the unfavorable statements respecting the working of the institutions, and the character of the people, of this country, are made on the authority of these two writers; though the ardent loyalty of the one, and the speculative Jacobinism of the other, rendered them equally unsafe and treacherous

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guides. We have a great respect for the abilities and the character of Miss Martineau, but, while in this country, she had neither eyes nor ears for any thing that was not connected either with her views of theoretical democracy, or the abolition of slavery, and her work, therefore, as a whole, is as prejudiced and unfair as the most libellous productions of the English press respecting the United States. Having examined her volumes at length, at the time of their publication, we need refer now to only one of her statements, which is adopted without hesitation by Mr. Alison, as a proof of what is here advanced. Alluding to the character of the clergy in this country, she speaks with some respect of those members of the profession who are the most "secular in their habits of life." But "those exclusively clerical are the worst enemies of Christianity, except the vicious." What must be thought of the temper, judgment, or discrimination, of the writer who would hazard such an assertion as this, respecting a large and most respectable body of men, not one in a hundred of whom she, probably, ever saw or heard of? And, because no one ever ventured to insult the clergy, by undertaking to refute such a ridiculous assertion, Mr. Alison gravely adopts it, and consigns it to history, as a proof of the low ebb to which religion has sunk in this country!

Of the errors for which our author alone is responsible, the following is one of the most curious, in which one would think that any schoolboy might have corrected him. "*The two States of Massachusetts and New England* continued to refuse to send their contingents to the war."* He evidently supposes that New England is a separate State; and, in order that there may be no doubt about the matter, the blunder is twice repeated, on pages 319 and 369 of the same volume, where he speaks of "the Northern States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, *and New England*." This mistake is a ludicrous one, but it is not of much importance for the narrative or the arguments of the writer. As much cannot be said for the next blunder that we notice, as it has a serious effect on his reasoning and conclusions.

"All the State judges, from the highest to the lowest, are elected by the people, and are liable to be displaced by them.

* Vol. X. p. 348.

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Their tenure of office is sometimes for three, sometimes for four, sometimes for six years, *but never for life.*" — Vol. x. p. 305.

We were on the point of saying, that it was but justice to Mr. Alison to mention the fact, that he was, probably, led into this blunder by M. de Tocqueville, who, in a passage quoted by our author, is made to affirm of all the judges, — even without distinction, so that the remark applies to the national, as well as to the state judiciary, — that "they are elected by the majority, *and hold their offices at their pleasure.*" But what was our astonishment to find, on recurring to the original, that the proper qualification of M. de Tocqueville's remark was inserted in the very sentence here cited, but omitted in Mr. Alison's translation, while the words italicized in the translation are not found in the original! The following is the passage from the French writer, which is correctly translated by our author, (Vol. x. p. 300,) excepting the clause in small capitals, which is omitted, and the clause above quoted in italics, which is an interpolation. "*Lorsqu'un homme ou un parti souffre d'une injustice aux États Unis, à qui voulez vous qu'il s'adresse? À l'opinion publique? c'est elle qui forme la majorité; au corps legislatif? il représente la majorité, et lui obéit aveuglément; au pouvoir executif? il est nommé par la majorité, et lui sert d'instrument passif; à la force publique? la force publique n'est autre chose que la majorité sous les armes; au jury? le jury, c'est la majorité revêtue du droit de prononcer des arrêts: les juges eux-mêmes,* DANS CERTAINS ÉTATS, *sont élus par la majorité. Quelque inique ou déraisonnable que soit la mesure qui vous frappe, il faut donc vous y soumettre.*" — Tocqueville, *De la Démocratie en Amérique.* Cinquième Édition. Paris. 1836. pp. 143, 144.

In the common English translation by Mr. Reeve, the sentence is thus correctly rendered; "The jury is the majority invested with the right of hearing judicial cases; and, IN CERTAIN STATES, even the judges are elected by the majority."* We are unwilling to accuse a writer, who shows so much apparent candor and fairness as Mr. Alison, of wilfully misstating facts, and deliberately falsifying the authority cited in support of them; but, when we remember

* Reeve's translation of Tocqueville's *Democracy in America.* London. 1835. Vol. II. p. 155.

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that this alleged fact, respecting the want of an independent judiciary, forms an important point in his reasoning, and is referred to, again and again, in order to prove the general insecurity of life and property in the United States, it must be admitted that his character as a historian is subject to a very serious imputation. The deception could affect only a few of his English readers, for, of course, none in this country, and not many in Great Britain, need be informed, that the independence of the judges of the national courts is secured by an express provision in the Constitution, which requires, that the offices shall be held "during good behaviour," and the compensation attached "shall not be diminished during their continuance in office." With respect to the State courts, in thirteen States, the judges hold office during good behaviour; in eight others, they are appointed for periods not less than seven years, and, in some instances, these periods are for twelve or fifteen years. In two States, only, they hold office but for one year. In but one instance, are they elected directly by the people, and they can never be removed by the direct action of the people. In thirteen States, they are appointed by the legislatures; in twelve, by the governors, with the advice of a senate, or a council. They are removable only by impeachment, or, in some instances, by an address of both branches of the legislature, for which, usually, the votes of two thirds, or three fourths, of the members of each house must concur. Let Mr. Alison compare these facts with the statement quoted from him on the preceding page, and then, perhaps, he will be able to explain his extraordinary perversion of the language of M. de Tocqueville.

We have still to notice a few misstatements by our author, which are not of so much importance, except to show the hurried and careless manner in which he prepared the chapter on America. Speaking of Washington, he observes, that "one of the last acts of that great man was to carry, by his casting vote in Congress, a commercial treaty with Great Britain." * Does Mr. Alison need to be informed, that the President has no vote in Congress, and that Washington never was a member of that body after the adoption of the Constitution in 1788? He evidently refers to the

* Vol. X. p. 315.

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ratification of Jay's treaty by precisely a constitutional majority in the Senate, in 1795 ; its ratification, in spite of great opposition among the people, being due mainly to the firmness and great personal influence of Washington.

Our author seems to be very ill informed respecting the powers and duties of the President, for the following blunder, one would think, could not have been committed by any one who ever read the Constitution of the United States. Any one of the authorities, that he cites in such profusion, would have put him right upon this point. "The President carries the laws into execution, but he has no share in their formation ; he can refuse his sanction, but, by a singular anomaly, though that prevents their execution, it does not prevent them from being laws, and carried into effect, when a more pliant chief of the republic is elected." * A singular anomaly, indeed ! The supposition appears to be, that, when the Executive refuses to sanction any bill passed by Congress, the law only falls into a sort of trance, from which it is awakened when any future President favors its enactment.

In speaking of the banks in this country, Mr. Alison makes the following assertion. "The law allows any rate of interest agreed on by the parties to be taken, and it is often excessive ; one *per cent.* is a usual, three *per cent.* a month no uncommon occurrence." † The law fixes the rate of interest in every State and territory in the Union ; in not one instance is it more than 8, and, in twenty-one cases out of twenty-nine, no more than 6 *per cent.* a year is allowed, the penalty being usually a forfeiture of the whole debt.‡

To show that literature meets with little encouragement in America, our author adduces the names of Cooper, Channing, and Washington Irving, as proof that "the American soil is not wanting in genius of the most elevated and fascinating character ; *but their works are almost all published in London, — a decisive proof that European habits and ideas are necessary to their (?) due development.*" § Let us turn this reasoning the other way. 'The names of Scott, Wordsworth, and Dickens, indeed, amply demonstrate that the

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* Vol. X. p. 297. † *Ibid.*, p. 285.
‡ See the *American Almanac* for 1842. Boston. pp. 106, 107.
§ Vol. X. p. 306.

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English soil is not wanting in genius of the most elevated and fascinating character ; but their works are all published in Boston, — a decisive proof that American habits and ideas are necessary to their due development.' Does Mr. Alison perceive into what an absurdity he has fallen, or does he need to be informed farther, that the justly distinguished writers whom he has mentioned all reaped their first harvest of applause on American ground, that all their works are published here, and ten copies of them are circulated here while one is sold in London ?

We are sorry to notice these instances of carelessness, or of something worse, for they throw suspicion on other portions of the work, which were probably executed with more diligence and fidelity than this unlucky chapter on America. They show, at any rate, how dangerous it is for the historian to enter upon his task with a preconceived theory firmly established in his mind, which prevents him from seeing any thing but one class of facts, or arguments affecting but one side of the question. The democratic tendency of the age, the spirit of innovation and reform, is the spectre which our author would fain exorcise by any charm, but "it will not down at his bidding." It is evident, that he intended his work should produce an immediate effect upon public opinion on subjects not directly connected with his principal theme ; for, in the latter portion of it, especially, the allusions are very frequent to events that have occurred since the French Revolution, and to the political aspect of things at the present day. This ulterior purpose has exerted a great influence, also, as we have already remarked, on his account of the institutions, and the character of the inhabitants, of this country. It has frequently betrayed him into the error, which even M. de Tocqueville has not always avoided, of attributing to our political situation many peculiarities which ought rather to be ascribed to physical circumstances, the nature of the country, the origin of its inhabitants, the religion of the first settlers, previously acquired habits, and a hundred other causes, which, independently of democracy, have had an immense influence on the tone of American thought and feeling. He is often guilty of the blunder committed by the Hamiltons and the Trollopes, who went among the pioneers of civilization, — men whose office it is to level the forests and subdue the wilderness,

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and whose lives are passed on a flat-boat or in a log cabin, — and there uttered loud complaints, because they could not find the luxuries of an English drawing-room, or the intelligence and decorum which are shown in an English fashionable assembly. We pray all foreign tourists, especially English conservatives, who may hereafter visit this country, to remember that there are other influences here at work, besides a popular government, to modify the feelings and the prospects of the people.

We have no fault to find with the summary account given by our author of the events of the last war between England and this country. The narrative is, in the main, a fair one, justice being done to both parties in the contest, and the blame for the commencement of hostilities being laid pretty equally on the English and American governments. Our business is, chiefly, with the writer's general sketch of the condition and prospects of the American people, as affected by their political institutions. With what feelings Mr. Alison approached this portion of his labors may be inferred from the following extract.

"Here, then, is a country in which, if they ever had on earth, republican principles have enjoyed the fairest ground for trial, and the best opportunity for establishing their benefits. The land was boundless, and, in the interior, at least, of unexampled fertility. The nation began its career with all the advantages and powers, and none of the evils or burdens, of civilization. They had the inheritance of English laws, customs, and descent; of the Christian religion, of European arts, and all the stores of ancient knowledge; they had neither a territorial aristocracy, nor a sovereign on the throne, nor an hereditary nobility, nor a national debt, nor an established church, which are usually held out as the impediments to the blessings of freedom in the Old World. How, then, has the republican system worked in this, the garden of the world, and the land of promise?" — Vol. x. p. 300.

The direct answer which is made by our author to this question is startling enough; for he says, explicitly, that "There is no security whatever either for life or property in America." The spoliation of the commercial classes, he thinks, has already been effected; and "the period, when the attack on landed property, if the present system of government continues, will commence, may be predicted with cer-

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tainty." Is life secure, then, he asks, when property is placed in such imminent peril? "Experience, terrible experience, proves the reverse; and demonstrates that not only is existence endangered, but law is powerless against the once excited passions or violence of the people." Such wild assertions as these are harmless, for they can deceive no one, and we might pass them over in pity to the individual whose prejudices could so far overcome his judgment as to induce him to consign them to the pages of sober history. But the alleged facts on which the charges rest, may deserve a moment's consideration. Will it be believed, then, that the only support for these sweeping conclusions is found in two or three doubtful instances, related by Miss Martineau, of the practice of "Lynch law" in the western and southwestern States, about as many cases of riots in some of our cities, and the political warfare against the late Bank of the United States, which Mr. Alison chooses to consider as a revolt of the indigent classes, and as an organized attack upon property? We might as well cite the dreadful murders committed, a year or two since, by Courvoisier and Daniel Good, to prove the general insecurity of life in London. Has not England had recent experience of riots and insurrections in her manufacturing towns and districts, far more serious than any which have occurred in the United States during the present century? A bitter contest, often giving rise to popular commotions, is going on at this moment between the manufacturing and the landed interest in England, and ever and anon the cries or convulsive struggles of the starving Chartists are heard, yet no one thinks of saying, that the institution of property is seriously menaced in Great Britain. At one time, as Mr. Alison himself tells us, there was a concerted opposition to the Bank of England, very much like the present political contests about banking institutions in this country, the cry there being, "To stop the Duke, go for gold"; yet our author does not maintain that there was then an insurrection of poverty against wealth in London.

These instances, although enough to expose the extravagant absurdity of the charges made against America in particular, will not suffice to disprove all that our historian has said of the evil consequences of democratic institutions in general; for most of the events referred to have happened

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since the passage of the Reform bill, when, according to Mr. Alison, the evil principle of democracy was enthroned in the British Constitution, and all the evils which have since visited England must be ascribed to its fatal influence. Go back, then, to an earlier day, to the time when the Manchester mob was trampled down under the hoofs of the dragoons, or even to the period of the "No popery" riots, in 1780. London was then the scene, for several days, of more frightful excesses, committed by a maddened populace, than have ever disgraced an American city, even during the troublous period of the Revolution, and the excitement of a civil war. The elegant mansion of the Chief Justice of England was sacked and burned, the prisons were delivered of their inmates and then committed to the flames, many of the intoxicated rioters perished in the conflagrations which their own hands had kindled, nor were the tumults quelled till a strong military force had reduced the city, as it were, to a state of siege. And the supposed leader of this mob was no vulgar and low-born demagogue, but a peer of the realm. These things took place in aristocratic England, before the crown had been shorn of its brightest beams by the encroachments of the people; and no historian in those times ventured to say, that the government was, therefore, powerless, and the persons and fortunes of the citizens were at the mercy of any band of ruffians. Yet, because a crowd of persons in Boston, some eight years since, seized an obnoxious individual, and conducted him in triumph through several streets, without offering any other violence, Mr. Alison declares, that life and property are not safe in the United States.

Of the two stories borrowed by our author from Miss Martineau, we can only say, that the one relating to an occurrence at Mobile rests on very doubtful authority; she did not witness the event; the newspapers, according to her own account, never breathed a syllable about the matter; and we never heard of it till the appearance of her book. It was an article of American news that came to us by the way of England; and we have always believed, that, in this case, as in some others, some wicked wag, knowing the lady's appetite for the marvellous, especially in tales of such a class, made a very bold experiment upon her credulity. And does Mr. Alison think, on the strength of two or three "travel-

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lers' stories" of this description, to establish on the pages of history so grave a charge against the character of a whole nation? The report of a dreadful affair at St. Louis, unhappily, is too true; but even this account, as given by Miss Martineau, and quoted by Mr. Alison, has all the effect of falsehood, for it is but half told. An individual committed a most atrocious crime, which excited the liveliest indignation among the people, and an impatient and furious mob tore him from the hands of the officers of justice, and put him to a most cruel death on the spot. Humanity and reason forbid, that we should justify or palliate such an action! It was a crime as abominable as that of which it formed the penalty. But it showed no indifference to right and wrong on the part of its perpetrators; it was a wild and terrible act of revenge for outraged right, which we might praise among savages, though we execrate it in a civilized community which pretends to be governed by law. As such, it was everywhere reprobated; and, as a similar event might occur under any government, it leaves no peculiar stain on the character of our institutions, or of the whole people. Even in the streets of London, the minions of the law have often had a struggle with the excited populace, who would fain have torn the criminal from their grasp, and inflicted vengeance on him more speedy than that of the courts. About a century and a half ago, a Lord Chancellor of England was exposed to great peril in this way, and he died in a few weeks, from the injuries and fright that he had actually received. Such an act manifests a strong, but ignorant and licentious, zeal for justice, and, though we deplore its occurrence, we may even proudly say, that the degraded subjects of an Eastern despotism would not be capable of such a crime.

But it is really a pitiful business to scrutinize the two or three instances of popular violence, on which our historian founds the monstrous assertion, that "the atrocities of the French Revolution, cruel and heart-rending as they are, have been exceeded on [this] side of the Atlantic." Mr. Alison himself suggests the unanswerable plea to be offered by American writers in such cases, "that it is unjust to hold their institutions responsible for acts common to them with all mankind." A longer catalogue may be formed of riot and crime, occurring during any given period, in France or England, than in the United States. And is no allowance

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to be made for the fact, that popular outbreaks in those countries are kept down by a large armed force, while, here, there is nothing to restrain the people but their own sense of right? Take away from Paris the ten thousand troops of the line; remove from London that large body of armed and disciplined men in uniform, not called *soldiers*, — oh, no! freeborn Englishmen would not tolerate the presence of soldiers in such numbers, — but "the Metropolitan Police"; and then strike the balance between the popular commotions occurring in those cities, and in unguarded Boston or New York. We would not taunt Europeans with the precautions which they find necessary, in order to preserve the peace in their large cities. But do not let them seize on every instance of a trivial disturbance here, in order to show by contrast the admirable order and security which they enjoy, under the protection of the bayonet. We all know, that a price is to be paid for liberty, and, for our own part, we are not inclined to chaffer about the sum, so that we may be relieved from the necessity of meeting a soldier or a policeman at every corner. What is called "Lynch law" is as little known in New England and the Middle States as in Great Britain; and, if some lamentable instances of it have occurred in the new settlements, let any reasonable person decide, whether they are to be ascribed to the fact, that a great tide of emigrants, from all parts of the world, is flowing in upon a region which, a few weeks ago, was a wilderness, and where as yet they have hardly had time to organize tribunals of justice, or to the pernicious effects of democratic institutions. The very fact, that this flood of immigration continues, is enough to show how baseless are the charges which we are now considering. Men do not remove their household gods from a place where they are protected by a strong and just government, to one where neither life nor property is secure. The English, Scotch, and Irish do not emigrate to Turkey, though some of her fertile plains are nearly as destitute of population as our western forests.

But we have something better than indirect testimony to the peaceful, humane, and orderly character, in general, of the people of the United States. We appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, — from Mr. Alison reasoning against democracy, to Mr. Alison, the historian, candidly narrating facts. The following are some of the admissions that escape

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him, when, for a moment, he is not haunted by the fearful apparition of popular rule.

"These principles have not been abandoned by the descendants of England, in their transatlantic possessions. When the Americans threw off the yoke of Britain, they retained its laws, its religion, its institutions; no massacres or proscriptions, no confiscations or exiles, disgraced the rise of their liberty; no oblivion of the past was made the foundation of their hopes for the future. The English Church is still the prevailing religion of the land; (?) the English decisions still regulate their courts of justice; and English institutions form the basis on which their national prosperity has been reared. Amidst the exasperation of a civil war, they have never deviated from the usages of civilized life." — Vol. I. p. 49.

"Two hundred years have elapsed since the British exiles, flying the real or imaginary persecutions of Charles the First, first approached the American shores; and their increase since that time has been unparalleled for so considerable a period, in any other age or part of the world. Carrying with them into the wilderness the powers of art and the industry of civilization; with English perseverance in their character, English order in their habits, and English fearlessness in their hearts; with the axe in their hand, the Bible in their pocket, and the encyclopædia (!) by their side; they have multiplied during that long period in exactly the same ratio, and the different States of the Union now contain above seventeen millions of souls, of whom fourteen millions are of the Anglo-Saxon race." — Vol. X. p. 280.

"This marvellous rapidity of increase has hitherto not only been unattended with any addition to human suffering, but it has taken its rise rather from the prodigious extent to which, owing to the combined bounty of nature and efforts of man, general prosperity has been diffused through all classes of the community. Among the many marvels which strike an European traveller on his first approach to the United States, one of the most extraordinary is the general well-being which pervades all classes of the community." — Vol. X. p. 286.

"Nothing is more remarkable in America than the universal activity and industry which prevail in all classes of society. That the Anglo-Saxon race in Europe is laborious, persevering, and energetic, need not be told to any one who witnesses the colossal fabric of British greatness, or the vast impression which England has made in every quarter of the globe. But, enterprising as it is in Great Britain, it is not influenced by such a restless spirit of activity, such a perpetual fever of exertion, as

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appears among its descendants in the New World. The vast facilities for the acquisition of fortune, which the prodigious increase of population, and boundless extent of fertile land, afford; the entire absence of all hereditary rank or property, which opens the career of power and distinction alike to every citizen; the engrossing thirst for gold, which springs from its being the only source of distinction and the only durable basis of power, have combined, with the active and persevering habits which they have inherited from their Anglo-Saxon ancestors, to produce in the Americans an universal spirit of industry and enterprise, to which nothing comparable has ever been witnessed among mankind. It is the fervor of Roman conquest, turned only to war with the desert; the fever of French democracy, yet 'guiltless of its country's blood.'" — Vol. x. p. 290.

But Mr. Alison fears that we shall soon lose the good character which he has here given us. He fears that the poor, who form the majority, will soon attack the rich, and even declares that the time for the spoliation is fixed. "As soon as the majority of electors, in any of the States, have come to be persons without any interest in the soil, and when the back settlements have become so distant, by the advance of civilization, that it is less trouble to take their neighbour's fields than to go to the Far West to seek possessions of their own," then the attack on property in land will commence, commercial wealth having already fallen a prey to the spoiler. Why not say at once, When all the people become thieves, then men's purses will be in danger. There is nothing new in these lugubrious warnings; the Halls and the Hamiltons have dinned them into our ears a thousand times. The great mistake committed by these prophets of ill, lies in supposing that, when men have the power, they will also have the will, to rob their neighbours. They either overlook, or wholly deny the fact, that there is any thing like a sense of justice or of moral obligation in man, and appear seriously to maintain that the only reason why, in any country, the many do not seize the possessions of the few is, that they are not strong enough to commit so open a robbery. We have already avowed that we are no disciples of the doctrine of perfectibility; but we have still less faith in the opposite gloomy theory of Hobbes, — that man is a wild beast, fit only to be chained in a cell, lest he should prey upon his fellow-brutes. Why, even if moral ties had no force, and re-

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ligion were but a name, if there were no punishment to be feared in this world, and no retribution hereafter, selfishness would still teach man, that it was bad policy to plunder his brother, for his ill-gotten gains would only become the prey of the next ruffian that was stronger than he. Who does not see that, before a reckless and unprincipled majority can even begin the work of spoliation, they must be not only miserably poor, but must have lost all hope of becoming rich by any means? And what human being was ever reduced to such destitution? The majority do not rob now, says Mr. Alison, because the majority is still composed of those who have some wealth, and each one fears for himself the rule which he would fain apply to his neighbour. But a man will guard his hopes with as much vigilance as he shows in watching over his possessions. If a general system of plunder were instituted, a man must renounce the last expectation of ever possessing wealth. The very convicts in the penitentiary have more sense than that; the old proverb says, that there is honesty even in that community.

But it is idle to go about controverting a theory by argument, which is already confuted by experience. The political power in this country is already in the hands of those who have the least to lose and the most to gain by an attack upon property; and what indications are there, that they are inclined to use their strength in this way? Mr. Alison appeals to "the violent outcry which has been raised in every part of the Union against the paper credit and the commercial aristocracy." He might as well cite the present existence of a "corn-law league" in England, as a proof that the property of the landholders there is endangered. Whenever the capital and industry of a country are divided among several great interests, it is natural that jealousy should grow up between them, and that each should endeavour to gain for itself the patronage and support of the government. Each tries to push aside, to surpass, to humble, but not to rob, the other; for capital is vested in all, and he who attacks one form of property, does his best to destroy the institution itself. In this age, neither in the United States, nor in Europe, can the jealousy existing between the various professions drive either of them to such an act of madness. Experience teaches them better. The failure of the banks and the stoppage of credit, which Mr. Alison considers as

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the effect of blows aimed at the commercial classes alone, have nowhere been felt more severely than in the agricultural States. And his fears for the landholders are quite as unnecessary as his sympathy with the merchants. His theory is, that property in land is less secure in proportion as it is farther removed from the back settlements, where land can be had for little or nothing. Yet the farmer in Massachusetts sleeps not a whit less soundly than his brother in the west of New York, although he is much farther off than the latter from the forests of Michigan, or the prairies of Illinois. Mr. Alison's reasoning depends on the false assumption, that, when men cannot buy western farms at a low price, they will steal those of their eastern neighbours.

We do not seek to conceal either the evils or the dangers that wait on a popular government. He must be a resolute advocate of it, who cannot learn prudence and caution from the moral of the terrible story, which is told in the first two volumes of the work before us. But do not let these evils be confounded with others, which are common to all forms of government, because they are inseparably connected with the imperfections of human nature. In this vague talk about a pure democracy or a pure aristocracy, we must not lose sight of the proper character of our own institutions, which is, perhaps, as far removed from the one as from the other. From many of the dangers peculiar to the former we have been secured by the wisdom and foresight of the founders of the Constitution. They devised restraints on the action of the people, and, by accepting the instrument which they framed, the people submitted to those restraints, and voluntarily tied their own hands. The frame of government under which we live is a system of checks and balances, nearly as complicated and artfully arranged as that which forms the British constitution. The independence of the judiciary, the guaranty of the perpetual obligation of contracts, the division of the legislative power into two chambers, the peculiar formation and functions of the senate, the members of which are elected by the State legislatures, and not by a direct popular vote, the qualified negative upon legislative acts accorded to the President, the long term of office granted to the executive and the senate, and many other provisions, are skilfully devised and efficient limitations of the power of the majority. Many of these pro-

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visions were copied into the State constitutions, or borrowed from them, and thus a double barrier was erected between the rights of the individual and the tyrant will of the multitude. Without these checks and limitations, one might as well be an inhabitant of Turkey as of the United States; for the essence of despotism consists in the action of a sovereign without the restraint of law, no matter whether that sovereign be one man, or a privileged class, or a majority of the people. The want of such salutary restraints as these in the constitution adopted in France, in 1791, is justly considered by Mr. Alison as the chief cause of the lamentable failure of the government which the Revolutionary party sought to establish. Miss Martineau, in the ardor of her attachment to the purest form of democracy, objects to the admission of such articles into the American constitution. "The senate is an anomaly," she observes; "the appointment of the judges for life is another departure from the absolute republican principle." We are quite of her mind. These provisions *are* wholly at variance with the theory of a purely democratic government; and the founders of the Constitution who proposed them, and the people who ratified them, and have quietly enjoyed the protection which they have afforded for more than half a century, have thereby declared that they would not trust an unmixed democracy, but would establish in its place *a constitutional government.* We commend our fair theorist to the attentive study of the French constitution of 1791, which had no provision for a senate, and which limited the judges' term of office to three years. The history of the three years which followed the adoption of that instrument, may give her some new views respecting the comparative wisdom of the measures adopted by the friends of liberty in France, and in the United States.

But these are uncertain guaranties, it may be said, since the Constitution may be altered, and these salutary limitations of the popular power be repealed. So they may, but not at the will of a mere majority. A concurrence of two thirds in both houses of Congress, or of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, is necessary before an amendment to the Constitution can be formally proposed, and then it must be ratified by not less than three fourths of the States, before it becomes a part of the instrument. This provision

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is so complicated that it can scarcely ever take effect, and it is now justly regarded as quite a visionary thing to propose any amendment to the Constitution. The wisdom of throwing so great impediments in the way of making any alterations has been acknowledged in a high quarter; for not many years since, the "Quarterly Review"—no mean authority in Mr. Alison's eyes—regretted the want, in the British Constitution, of "that powerful conservative principle, so wisely embodied in the original frame of the American Constitution." With the exception of a few amendments proposed when the instrument was ratified, and immediately accepted, and which ought, therefore, to be regarded almost as a portion of the original draught, and excepting also an unimportant alteration, adopted in 1804, respecting the mode of voting in the election of a president, the Constitution has remained unchanged from 1788 till the present hour. It would be difficult to mention any state in Europe, which has undergone so little change as this in its fundamental institutions, during the past half century.

The continuance of this form of government during so long a period, and with so little change, whatever may be its fate in future, is a proof that free institutions are practicable. In reply, then, to our author's question, "How has the republican system worked in this, the garden of the world, and the land of promise?"—we say, that the experiment has fully succeeded. It has worked well with a generation that has passed away; and, if it fails in another, the only proper conclusion will be, not that republican institutions are impracticable, but that the men of the present day are not equal to their fathers. In accounting for the comparatively bloodless character of the English revolutions of 1640 and 1688, contrasted with the French revolution of 1789, Mr. Alison justly lays great stress upon the fact, that the English patriots were wont to regard liberty, "not as a boon to be gained, but as a right to be vindicated; not as an invasion of the constitution, but a restoration of its pristine purity. The love of freedom came thus to be inseparably blended with the veneration for antiquity." "The passion for liberty," he continues, "was thus divested of its most dangerous consequence, by being separated from the desire for innovation." By the inestimable inheritance of a Constitution, now consecrated by the lapse of more than half a century,

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the Americans of the present day are placed in an equally fortunate position, and their love of the instrument itself has come to be mingled with the reverence due to the memory of its authors. Age is thus every day strengthening its hold on the public mind. Already is it hallowed in some degree with the moral power and interest, which attach to an ancient institution. Already is it the object of that love and veneration, which are due to the expressed will and the embodied wisdom of an elder generation. Party spirit at times may attack its most important provisions; impatience under temporary evils and abuses may lead some to delude themselves with the vain conception of a more perfect instrument; ill-judging philanthropy and enthusiasm may aim serious blows against it, under the false impression that it injures some of those high and sacred objects, of which it is, in reality, the strongest bulwark and support. But these various assaults, exaggerated in appearance by the noisy zeal and intemperate language of those who make them, cannot upheave the broad foundation on which the instrument rests. The Constitution stands like an oak already of mature growth, and, though the tempests of faction may assail it, till the branches creak and even the solid trunk quivers in the furious gust, it remains firmly rooted in the affections of the community; for it is at once the palladium of their liberties, and the safeguard of the people against themselves.

We had purposed to say something of the character of the remarkable man, the account of whose career necessarily occupies so large a portion of the volumes now before us. But our remarks have already exceeded the usual limits of an article, and we forbear. We have commented with perfect freedom on the mistakes which Mr. Alison has committed, and the prejudices which have so evidently warped his judgment in respect to the nature and effects of free institutions, and the condition and prospects of the people of this country. But the most objectionable portions of the work have been selected for this purpose and we should be very sorry to leave the impression on the minds of our readers, that the whole is equally tainted with error. It is, in the main, an able and elaborate performance, the history of an important period skilfully told; and there are few persons who may not find interest and instruction in its pages.

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ART. VII. — *Researches concerning the Periodical Meteors of August and November.* By SEARS C. WALKER, A. P. S. Read January 15th, 1841 [before the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, and published in their Transactions]. Philadelphia. 4to. pp. 53.

THE falling star is so familiar to us that it rarely attracts more than a passing notice ; and the attempt to define, distinguish from one another, and classify, such fleeting phenomena has appeared a hopeless undertaking, and has only very recently been made with regular and systematic zeal. Crude hypotheses, atmospheric, volcanic, selenitic, and cosmical, had long been afloat in men's minds ; it had been conjectured that they might be gaseous explosions, electrical sparks, aerolites, or "world-chips." Light and flighty enough for entertaining academic discussion, they could not, however, command the careful research of earnest inquirers, until there was good reason to believe that they were not of the class of the inconstant *ignes fatui*. A multitude of speculations might be enumerated, but so weak and ill-supported that a single fact is enough to disperse them. At the very close of the last century, two college lads, Brandes and Benzenberg, students of Göttingen, instituted a series of exact observations, from which it appeared that these meteors move through the air with the average velocity of twenty miles in a second, as swiftly as the earth in its orbit. This astonishing velocity, which has been confirmed by Brandes's later observations in 1823, Quetelet's in 1824, Twining's in November of 1833, and Boguslawski's in 1836 and 1837, but which is only one tenth part of the speed according to Wartmann's determination in 1838, is altogether too great to have originated in any volcanic eruption, either lunar or terrestrial, or from any conceivable explosion, while it is much too small to be attributed to electricity. It seems, therefore, sufficient of itself to make a clear opening for the cosmical view, although it would be most presumptuous, upon this isolated fact, to build a complicated theory, and to fill space with myriads of little planets. It was also inferred from these different observations, that the velocity was not the same for all the meteors, but that it ranged from ten to two

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hundred and fifty miles per second, the least velocity being too great to belong to a satellite of the earth, and the greatest being tenfold more than that which would suffice to throw a body out of the region of the sun's influence. The height of the meteors, moreover, was found to vary from six to six hundred miles. No common character, in short, of any theoretical importance, was detected, and no principle established, which could serve as a means of classification. But, before some of these observations were made, a fortunate occurrence, skilfully improved, led to the discovery of such a principle, and, in 1833, a new view of the meteoric phenomena emanated from New Haven, which has since attracted the serious attention of the whole scientific world.

The great meteoric display of November, 1833, which was the occasion of these recent investigations, was one of the most sublime showers of fire of which we find any record in history. "Above, and all around the firmament," says an observer in Missouri, "thicker than the stars themselves, which were uncommonly bright, large, and beautiful, we beheld innumerable fire-balls, of a pallid color, rushing down, and, to appearance, across the sky, drawing after them long luminous traces, which clothed the whole heaven in majesty, and gave the air and earth a pale and death-like appearance." "It would be difficult," said Mr. Aikin, of Maryland, "for one who had not witnessed the grand exhibition, to conceive the effect of this uninterrupted succession of innumerable meteors, proceeding from a point so nearly vertical towards the whole circumference of the horizon, and this, too, during the stillness of night, and with an atmosphere perfectly transparent. It could only be compared to one grand and continued discharge of fireworks, occupying the whole visible heavens." An observer in Georgia, also, witnessed the phenomenon, and described it, but in such glowing language that we quote only two sentences, in which the most remarkable of the meteors is particularly described.

"By far the most brilliant one which we saw, occurred at a few minutes past five in the morning, and seemed to announce, by its splendor, the *finale* of this grand exhibition of fireworks in the heavens. It seemed to pursue, as near as we could judge, a course from southeast to northwest, the ball being, apparently, five or six inches in diameter, with a train of from thirty to forty

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feet in length ; the latter assuming, immediately on the passage of the meteor, a serpentine form, and diffusing a light upon the earth quite equal to that of the full moon, and remaining intense at least for forty or fifty seconds."

Mr. James Sperry, at Henrietta, New York, remarked upon this same meteor, that —

" it left a streak of light apparently as broad as the moon, and extending over at least thirty degrees of the arch of the heavens, which was visible three minutes, shining at first with such splendor that small objects on the earth could be as easily distinguished as at the full of the moon ; it was straight at first, but, after continuing about one minute, contracted and crooked in the middle, — the bend forming nearly a right angle with the other part, — and then gradually grew more dim until it disappeared."

It was also observed, by Professor Olmsted of New Haven, —

" to shoot off in the northwest direction, and explode a little northward of the star Capella, leaving, just behind the place of explosion, a phosphorescent train of peculiar beauty. This line was, at first, nearly straight, but it shortly began to contract in length, to dilate in breadth, and to assume the figure of a serpent drawing itself up, until it appeared like a small luminous cloud of vapor."

Mr. Palmer, of New Haven, —

" from seven o'clock in the evening had noticed a reddish vapor, which first appeared low in the south, but gradually rose up the southern sky to the zenith. It was very thin, but still obscured the smaller stars."

President Humphreys said, that —

" many persons became exceedingly alarmed ; the light was so intense that some were aroused from sleep by the brilliant illumination of their apartments, and were under the apprehension that their dwellings were in flames."

The meteors were visible throughout almost the whole of the United States, from Maine to Louisiana, and from Lake Huron to the Gulf of Mexico ; they were also seen in Mexico, in the islands of Cuba and Jamaica, off the Bermudas, and on board of the brig *Francia* in the Atlantic Ocean, at a distance of three hundred miles northeast of the Bermudas, and five hundred miles from the American coast. Accounts from all quarters were sent to Professor Olmsted, who

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took great pains to collect them, arranged them systematically, and published them in the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth volumes of "Silliman's Journal," where the reader may find them, and, however far removed his tastes may be from dry philosophical inquiries, he will be fully rewarded by the entertainment which the perusal of them will afford. The only valuable observations, from a place without the apparent limits of the shower, were made in the Gulf of Mexico; and, since they have given rise to an important difference of opinion, which we shall not consider for the present, we venture to quote them at length.

"The ship *Junior*, Captain Gideon Parker, from Mobile for New York, was in the Gulf of Mexico, latitude 26° north, longitude 85⅓° west. Captain Parker, being on deck a little before three o'clock on the morning of November 13th, noticed several meteors, but not more than he had often seen before. Heavy dark clouds hung low in the northeast, from which the second mate (who held the watch before Captain Parker came on deck) said, that the first meteors he saw seemed to break like lightning. Above the clouds, which were from fifteen degrees to twenty-five degrees high, the sky was clear, and the stars bright as usual. About three o'clock, Captain Parker first noticed the unusual number of falling stars, and began to count their number, but was forced to desist by their rapid increase. For an hour and a half, Captain Parker observed them. During that time they were seen only in the northeast, above the cloud, and the eye at first would take in nearly the whole space of their action, which extended six or seven points along the horizon, and about forty-five degrees in altitude above it; but, towards the latter part of its obscuration, the space was more extended, say, twelve or fourteen points horizontally, and a few degrees higher in altitude. During its whole period of obscuration, *not one was seen in the west;* although Captain Parker looked particularly to this fact, and called the mate's attention to it at the time. Captain Parker distinctly remembers a radiant point in the northeast, from which all the courses were directed, some shooting horizontally, some vertically, and others at all inclinations between the two, but none upwards, — some shot towards the north, and some towards the east. This radiant, at first, held about forty-five degrees of altitude, but seemed to rise five degrees or ten degrees in the period of his observation; without, however, moving from the northeast at all. The meteors resembled common shooting stars, and were mostly as minute in magnitude as the stars themselves, — ten or twelve, however, would compare in size with

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the morning star. Some of the larger moved over a space of fifteen degrees to twenty, and some of them seemed to develope themselves not far from the point, and to go behind the cloud. All that descended low enough passed behind the cloud, — not one between the cloud and the observer. Near to the radiant the courses of some that were observed were very short, — not more than two or three degrees. All, both large and small, left a luminous trace, in which no prismatic colors were observed; and no one of the traces was observed to continue visible more than two seconds. The afternoon of the preceding day had been squally, and wind variable; but at the time of observation there was light wind from northeast.

"At nearly half past four, Captain Parker yielded the deck to his mate, who states, that, soon after he came on deck, the stars appeared passing over from the northeast into the west. In the west, their courses were very short, and they seemed 'just to let go their hold.' The ship was heading southeast. He continued on deck till eight o'clock in the forenoon. In the mean time, the meteors increased in number, and spread over the whole heavens, and were most brilliant about six o'clock. The sun rose at half past six." — *American Journal of Science*, Vol. xxv. pp. 399, 400.

The common point of radiation spoken of by Captain Parker, was also noticed by many other competent witnesses of the phenomena, and its existence has been unquestionably established by the collections and observations of Professors Olmsted and Twining. Mr. Olmsted said, that the meteors "commenced their progress at different distances from the radiating point, but their directions were uniformly such that the lines they described, if produced upwards, would all have met in the same part of the heavens. Around this point, or imaginary radiant, was a circular space of several degrees, within which no meteors were observed."

Mr. Twining, of West Point, said, that —

"there was a point a few degrees south and east of the zenith, which was evidently the *directrix* of all the apparent motions; and every luminous body, without exception, of those associated in the phenomenon, obeyed a regimen in relation to that point, which was such that every line and track of motion, if continued backward, would have passed, as nearly as the eye could discern, through that specific point. In the vicinity of that point a few star-like bodies were observed, possessing very little motion, and leaving very little length of trace; but, in their aspect, such as if a small nebula had softly swelled out from the

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heavens, gently elongated in its figure, and then as gently subsided. Farther off, the motions were more rapid and the traces longer; and the most rapid of all, and longest in their trace, were those which originated but a few degrees above the horizon and descended down to it. In these, the aspect might be compared to that of flaming sparks, driven swiftly athwart the sky by a strong wind."

President Humphreys remarked, that they "all appeared to move from a common centre, at or near the zenith." Professor Aikin said, that, "instead of the usual intermediate course of such meteors, these described paths in the direction of radii diverging from a central space. It was of no great extent, not longer, perhaps, than a circle ten degrees in diameter, without accurately defined outlines, but perfectly clear. From this centre, as a radiating point, proceeded the meteors, in numbers exceeding the visible stars, and in intensity of light often rivalling the rays of the full moon." The testimony of other observers, of Mr. Barber, of Frederick, Maryland, J. L. R., of Worthington, Ohio, Mr. Palmer, of New Haven, and of many persons in Georgia, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, was equally strong and decisive. This characteristic feature, forming a nucleus about which observations and hypotheses may cluster and crystallize into theory, has given an unexpected impulse to science in this direction. Observers in Europe and America have watched the motions of the shooting stars with renewed zeal; Quetelet abroad, and Herrick at home, have diligently digested the observations; and the result has already been a close approach to demonstrating the proposition, that, *whenever there is an unusual abundance of igneous meteors, the greater proportion of them radiate from a fixed space in the heavens.*

In their meteoric investigations, Biot, Chasles, Herrick, and Quetelet have searched voyages and travels, old records and chronicles, and Quetelet's last catalogue, published in 1841, contains 115 probable instances of great showers of stars before the year 1833. The subject is far from being exhausted even now, for a writer in the *Deutsches Vierteljahrs Schrift* has, from an imperfect examination of Vögel's Leipzig Chronicles, added several to the list. In most of these cases, nothing was recorded but the bare fact of the great numbers of falling stars; and no notice was taken

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of their character and direction. Frequently, however, it is stated, that they fell on all sides, which is, at least, an approximation to a common direction, and, in fifteen cases, this common direction is expressly mentioned. Thus, in February, 836, they "fell from east to west"; on the 13th of November, 899, "the stars falling, in Egypt, from northeast to southwest, were extraordinarily agitated, so that no one could fix his eyes upon the heavens." "On the 30th of October, 901, King Ibrahim Ben Ahmet died, and, on the same night, many stars fell, as if they had been thrown into the air, to the right and left, from a culminating point, like rain. Hence this year has been called the 'year of stars.'" On the 15th of October, 1743, in England, "A clear night, great shooting of stars between 9 and 10 o'clock; all shot from S. W. to N. E. One like a comet, in the meridian, very large, and like fire, with a long, broad train after it, which lasted several minutes; after that, was a train like a row of thick small stars for twenty minutes together, which dipt N." "During the great heat which the pestilential malady of the summer of 1798 developed, the shooting stars were incredibly numerous for many nights, near the 9th of August. Almost all proceeded from N. E. to S. W., and succeeded one another so rapidly that the eye of the observer was kept constantly in motion." On the 11th of November, 1799, a most remarkable shower, to which we shall repeatedly refer, was seen by Humboldt and Bonpland in Cumaná, to rise in the northeast and ascend towards the zenith. Upon the nights of the 9th of August, 1799 and 1813, of the 25th of November, 1822, the 11th to the 13th of November, 1832, and the 12th of December, 1830, many meteors fell, most of them passing from the northeast to the southwest. Similar observations were made and recorded on the nights of the 12th of August, 1824, the 3d, the 14th, and 15th of August, 1826, many meteors falling, and, in most cases, passing towards the southwest.

It will be observed, that the meteors which move in a common direction are classed as radiating, on account of the well known principle of perspective, that parallel straight lines will always appear to diverge from a point, which is called their *vanishing point*. Thus, the pole-star is the vanishing point of lines parallel to the earth's axis; and a shower of stars, which shot from north to south, in the

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direction of these lines, would appear to radiate from the pole-star. Since the year 1833, observations have been made with more care; it has been determined, that the average number of meteors which may be seen in an hour, on common nights, by a single observer, is about eight; and that, upon the nights of the 12th to the 14th of November, from 1834 to 1838 inclusive, upon those of the 9th to the 11th of August, 1837 to 1842 inclusive, upon those of the 6th of December, 1838, and of the 19th of April, 1839, there were unusual "meteoric abundances," and there seemed to be a common space of radiation. The place at which the meteor began, and that at which it ended its course, have been noted, in many cases, with extreme precision. Nearly 600 of these observations, which have been published, have been patiently and rigidly scrutinized, and we are convinced of the reality of the radiation, although, as will be seen in the sequel, it is of a somewhat different nature from that which is assumed by the partisans of the cosmical theory. From observations made at Königsberg and Berlin, on the nights of the 10th and 11th of August, 1837 and 1839, by Dr. Busch, Professor Erman, and others, it appears that, out of 398 meteors observed and registered, 288, or nearly three fourths of the whole number, radiated from a space in the heavens of about 20 degrees in radius. Such coincidences cannot be accidental, unless all regularity is accident. This uniformity of direction is not apparent upon ordinary nights, when the number of meteors is not unusually great.*

It may be thought, that the observations are still too few to establish so fundamental a proposition as the one proposed, that all meteoric showers radiate; and that it can only be inferred from them, that there are often radiating showers; or, at most, that, upon those nights in which many meteors are seen to radiate, the whole number of meteors is unusually great, so as to leave the unconformable meteors

* Thus, of 34 meteors, observed in 6 hours on the 13th of November, 1839, at the Königsberg observatory, only 11, or about one third, radiated from a space of 20 degrees in radius; and in 4½ hours on the 14th of November, 1826, of 34 meteors registered at Berlin, only 9 partook of such a radiation; only two out of 17 meteors observed in showers on the 12th of November, 1839, at Cölen; and only 15 meteors out of 54 observed in 8 hours on the 12th of November, 1838, by Mr. Birt, at Whitechapel, London.

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about as many as they are on ordinary occasions. This would of itself be a most valuable result; but, while we admit, that there are reasonable grounds for hesitating to advance farther with the present *data*, we must urge, as a weighty argument for the higher conclusion, that a large proportion of the many showers which have been observed since 1833 are of the radiating class, while not one has been shown to be of a different character. Farther investigations may modify this result, and prove that the proposition is not universal; but we are strongly inclined to believe, that its claims will be generally admitted, and that it will remain the first great law in this branch of meteorology.

The radiating, or, as more usually styled, the convergent meteors stand, then, as a distinct class, separate from those which are unconformable or *sporadic*. The feature by which they are characterized is to be carefully distinguished from another phenomenon, which, however intimately connected with it in theory, is radically different as a matter of simple observation. It seems to be the opinion of Messrs. Fitch and Herrick, that the average direction of the meteors, on all nights, is from the point towards which the earth is moving; not that many of them proceed from this point, or from the surrounding space, but about as many pass from one side of this point as from the opposite. Such a construction only of the views of these observers could be reconciled with the results of the astronomer Littrow's observations, which were continued nightly for about a year, from 1837 to 1838, without the detection of any convergent point, except upon the nights near the 10th of August, and the 12th of November.

The frequent mention of the two periods of the year just named, in connexion with the showers referred to in this article, may have been noticed by the reader, and he may desire to learn, whether these nights are unusually favored by the shooting stars, or by the star-gazers. Probably by both, at least within the last few years; but this brings us to the most interesting phenomenon connected with the convergent meteors, that of their *annual periodicity*, or regular recurrence at the same seasons of the year. A different kind of periodicity was suggested by Ritter in "Gilbert's Annalen," who attributed all the igneous meteors to atmospheric processes, which come to their highest state of ac-

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tivity in periods of nine or ten years, and then abate during the interval; and he brings forward the years 1788, 1798, and 1807, as instances of this unusual activity. Humboldt thus alludes to this hypothesis; "The periodicity of the phenomenon adds to the interest which it inspires. During some months, in our temperate zone, Brandes has counted from 60 to 80 shooting stars in a night; while, in other months, they have exceeded 2000. If one is so brilliant as to have the apparent magnitude of Sirius or Jupiter, it is sure to be succeeded by others. When shooting stars are unusually frequent during one night, this abundance generally lasts for several weeks. It might be said that, in the upper regions of the atmosphere, near the extreme limit where the centrifugal force is balanced by gravity, there is, periodically, a peculiar disposition for the production of fire-balls, shooting stars, and the *aurora borealis*. Does the periodicity of this great phenomenon depend on the state of the atmosphere, or on some foreign substance, which the atmosphere receives as the earth advances in the ecliptic? Of all this we are as ignorant now as at the time of Anaxagoras." Ritter's periodical years, not being sustained by observation, are of little value, and were soon forgotten. Quite different is it with the annual periods, the idea of which was first fully and distinctly conceived and announced by Professor Olmsted. But, as usual in the case of important discoveries, some credit is here due to others. It seems, indeed, when the world is ripe for a new truth, as if nature sowed it broadcast, and its germs are found in various minds, although in one only it may have sprung up and borne fruit. The first thought of periodicity, it seems, occurred in an obscure way to Mr. Palmer, of New Haven, so that he even predicted the splendid display, after which the conception became fully matured. "Being abroad in the earlier parts of the night, and having observed an unusual number of falling stars, he was induced to read over an account of the meteors described by Andrew Ellicott, which occurred November 12th, 1799. This being the same time of year, his curiosity was excited, and he mentioned to members of his family his expectation of a similar phenomenon." The coincidence with the same shower of 1799, as it was observed and described by Humboldt and Bonpland, was also noticed, independently of each other, by Professor Olmsted, by a writer

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in the Boston Centinel, and by Mr. Hildreth, of Marietta, Ohio. The development of the idea, however, and its defence, were reserved for Professor Olmsted, and he was ably seconded by Professor Twining and Mr. Herrick. For five years after 1833, meteoric showers were seen, as it was supposed, at New Haven and other places, about the 12th of November. During these five years, also, they were carefully looked for at Philadelphia without success; at the request of Professor Bache, circulars were sent to the different military posts, inquiring if any unusual meteoric display had been witnessed at the anniversary of 1834, to which the replies were, with a single exception, decidedly unfavorable. The November period could not have been sustained against this severe, but thorough and impartial, investigation, particularly as its most zealous partisans admit, that the shower of this period has ceased since 1838, if the way had not been cleared for it by the establishment of the August period. Much of the controversy was undoubtedly verbal, and turned upon the question, How many meteors make a shower? To evade the answer, meteorologists have sacrificed grammatical scruples to necessity, and find less difficulty in maintaining that there were "meteoric abundances" in these five years. These "abundances," altogether inferior to that of 1833, had the distinctive character of convergency, the importance of which did not, from the outset, escape the discernment of Professor Olmsted. The history of the November period before 1833 will probably be received with more favor after the perusal of the stronger evidence for that of August.

The first sure record of the August period is in 1451; after which there is one in 1723, one in 1724, and no other until 1779; but, during the sixty-four succeeding years, down to the present time, a shower of meteors at this season is recorded in thirty-three different years, or more than half of the whole number. Among these are included the six years since the periodicity was first detected, the omission of which would leave fifty-eight previous years, with twenty-seven recorded anniversaries. When it is added, that, during this time, only fifty-two nights were noted in which showers were observed, the proof of this period not only seems complete, but much more than any one could have anticipated, who reflected upon the facility with which these phe-

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nomena escape notice. It is also remarkable, that many of the early August showers were observed by men whose distinguished reputation elevates their testimony above all dispute; such as Sir William Hamilton, Spallanzani, Brandes, Priestley, Forster, Howard, Professor Stevelly, and Chladni. This period is called "Quetelet's" by Walker, who attributes to this philosopher its first announcement in 1836; but we perceive that, in a letter to Mr. Paine, it is claimed by Littrow; and it is worthy of notice, that Mr. Locke, of Cincinnati, in 1834, two years before the discovery of the periodicity, determined the position of the point of radiation.

Returning, now, to the history of the November shower, we find the first distinct record of it in 899, after which it was not noticed till 1602, nor again till the great shower of 1799. The latter was more remarkable for the brilliancy of its meteors, and the extent of country which it visited, than that of 1833; it was seen in Cumaná, on the borders of Brazil, in French Guiana, in the Bahama Channel, on the continent of North America, in Labrador, in Greenland, and many shooting stars were noticed on the same day in some places in Germany. During the forty years from 1799 to 1838 inclusive, the shower of this period was observed fourteen times, or nine times during the thirty-five years from 1799 to 1833, in which time only seventeen showers are recorded exclusively of those occurring in August. In the number of its showers, then, Olmsted's period is decidedly inferior to Quetelet's; and in the character of them, also, excepting the two great exhibitions of 1799 and 1833; but, with some hesitation, the scientific world seems so far inclined to its reception that the burden of proof is already thrown upon the negative; and, for ourselves, we are not disposed to take up the gauntlet in opposition.

Besides these two periods, others have been proposed, with much less evidence to recommend them; as the 10th of April, at which season a shower was recorded five times within the half century preceding the year 1123, but has since been wholly lost, unless we listen to the unsatisfactory suggestion, that it has been reproduced in modern times at the later period of the 20th of April, of which there are two instances in the present century. There have, also, been five showers, upon dates near the 6th of December,

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since the year 1740, and four upon the 2d of January in the years 1835, 1838, 1839, 1840, which, from their proximity to each other, are more interesting, and less likely to be deceptive.

The accurate observations of the August and November periods have elicited another important fact, which is, that the radiating space is the same throughout the night, at different places, and in different years. In November, its centre is in the neck of the constellation Leo, and in August, it is in the right shoulder of Perseus.

The four phenomena of radiation, periodicity, fixedness of the space of radiation, and the great velocity of the meteors, compose the foundation upon which the cosmical theory has been erected, and no attempt has been made to account for them upon any other hypothesis. This theory, which was first proposed in an organized form by Chladni, met with no favor, was abandoned by its author before his death, and afterwards was quite neglected, till it was revived by Olmsted and Twining, in 1833. In the list of its supporters are now enrolled the names of many of the most distinguished astronomers of Europe, as Arago, Biot, Bessel, Olbers, Boguslawski, Littrow, Quetelet, and Erman. It is developed by Mr. Walker of Philadelphia, in the article before us, with sound learning, unbiased, discriminating judgment, and ingenious and original research. This memoir is one of many rich donations which the venerable Philosophical Society of Philadelphia has lately made to the treasury of American science, and is in all respects deserving of the epithet "remarkable," which has been applied to it by the distinguished secretary of the Royal Academy of Brussels.

The rings of Saturn are thought by some of the most judicious astronomers not to be continuous in their structure, but to consist of the union of millions of small bodies. Each of these bodies would be invisible from the earth, if it were separated from the rest, as the whole ring is, when it is presented to us edgewise. Of the whole mass united at Saturn, then, nearly one *per cent.* is in small detached portions revolving about the primary, and the inquiry naturally arises, Is this phenomenon unique, or are there corresponding phenomena in other parts of the solar system? The satellites are common to Jupiter, Herschel, and the

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Earth; but the smaller fragments are nowhere else found in that conglomerate state requisite for their detection. And yet, upon a belief that the Deity has adopted a uniform organic system in the production of the planets, such as is pointed out by the beautiful nebular hypothesis of Herschel and Laplace, we are unwilling to admit that similar small bodies are wholly wanting in other parts of the solar system, and seize with avidity upon the indications of them in our own vicinity, afforded by the aerolites. But the founders of the cosmical theory have gone much farther; finding in the four telescopic planets, of which the largest has a diameter of only eighty miles, in the comets with their ever separating tails, in the zodiacal light, and in the distant nebulæ, proofs that the celestial spaces are filled with bodies of all varieties of magnitude and density, they venture to include in the same class the fire-balls and falling stars. Having different orbits, they are seen, when they are near the earth, shooting in all directions; rarely, however, do they tend towards the zenith, because they cannot pass through the solid earth, so that those which are seen to rise, are only the few, which, coming from the other side, approach so near to our planet as not to be beyond the reach of our vision. In the earlier part of the night, too, when the point of the heavens from which the earth is moving, is high above the horizon, the greater portion of those which are seen must have overtaken the earth in its orbit, and, consequently, if they belong to the solar system, their velocities in the direction of the earth must be more than sixteen and a half geographical miles in a second, and less than twenty-three and a half miles. But, in the morning, when the point towards which the earth is moving is elevated, the visible meteors may have any direct motion less than sixteen and a half miles in a second, and any retrograde one more than twenty-three and a half miles. The number of meteors on ordinary nights should, then, increase as the night advances, which is amply confirmed by observation. Their average direction should also agree with our interpretation of Mr. Fitch's views, and be from the point towards which the earth is moving; or rather, it should, in high northern latitudes, be to the north of this point, and the reverse in southern latitudes. Mr. Walker thinks, that the observed law of distribution of the known comets, by which "four fifths have their perihelia

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beneath that of the earth, and three fifths beneath that of Venus," leads, by analogy, to the inference, "that the perihelia of the meteors are gradually aggregated together as the distance from the sun diminishes; that by far the greater part of these bodies never reach the earth's mean distance." He also infers, "that a great portion of those seen on ordinary nights, having their perihelia inferior to Mercury, must, at the time of visibility, be generally near their aphelia, and have a small velocity; and, moving in all directions, the mean relative direction must be nearly opposite the observer's true direction, and the actual velocity of any single meteor, resolved in the plane normal to the observer's direction, must be small, and must exhibit itself as a small discrepancy from the mean convergent point of the evening." This ingenious speculation is supported by the fact, that the comets are resisted while they are within a distance less than that of Venus from the sun; for Mr. Walker's suggestion is most plausible, that the "aggregation of these small asteroids within the mean distance of Mercury may produce a sensible effect in resisting the progress of a body so light as Encke's comet, which the younger Herschel supposes to be incomparably more rare than the thinnest clouds which float in the upper regions of the atmosphere." It seems superfluous, however, to adopt this view into the cosmical theory, in order to account for the average direction and velocity of the meteors. It would, indeed, lead to a more definite phenomenon, — to an imperfect radiation on all nights, which seems to be contradicted by Littrow's observations, but may be hereafter established by a longer series, which has just been commenced, with this object especially in view.

The independent meteors present, however, but one phase of the cosmical theory, and would furnish too small a base for so vast a fabric. The complete development is contained in the following propositions from Mr. Walker's memoir;

"That, while the general law of meteoric distribution prevails in the planetary space, portions of this space have, besides the average number conformable to this law, special clusters, groups, or flocks of great extent, possibly composing entire rings, or lenses, embracing the sun."

"That the individuals composing these clusters have similar elements of elliptic motion, and continue to move round the sun

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in a plane, which, for a considerable period, undergoes but little change in space.

"That in such a plane there may be an indefinite number of these irregular groups at various mean distances from the sun; or there may be a tendency to the formation of a continuous, or imperfect and interrupted ring, the ring itself being a conic section, probably an ellipse. The ring of Saturn furnishes such an analogy in a secondary system, and, according to Cassini and Laplace, most probably the zodiacal light in the solar system."

From this simple and comprehensive theory, the phenomena of convergence, periodicity, and fixedness of the radiating space, are direct and obvious corollaries. The shooting stars are raised by it from the class of *ignes fatui* to the dignity of astronomical bodies, whose orbits are to be determined and calculated upon the principles which are applied to planets and comets; they become the subjects of Kepler's laws, and their philosophy is that of the Principia. Most of the planets are visible throughout their orbits, so that the slightest inequality of their motions can be ascertained with numerical precision, and their computation is facilitated by the near approach of their paths to exact circles. The comets are seen for a few weeks or months at a time, are identified in case of their return, and are observed to move in exceedingly elliptical orbits, so that the parabola performs the office of the circle in simplifying the calculations. But the meteors are seen only for a few seconds, are often lost by impinging against the earth, or, if they pass by, leave no trace by which they can be recognised, should they ever chance to reappear. The determination of their orbits would, therefore, at first sight, appear to be a hopeless undertaking. It is not so; their proximity to the earth, which enables us to see them, gives immediately their distance from the sun, which must, at the time of observation, be the same as that of the observer; and thus we obtain, without any labored calculation, one of the most important elements, and usually the most difficult one to be ascertained. The centre of the radiating space shows, moreover, the common direction of the convergent showers, and the only *datum* which remains, in order completely to fix the position of the orbit, is the velocity of the meteors. When the same shooting star has been observed at different places, and the positions of the points of its appearance and disap-

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pearance carefully noted, the actual length of its path can often be computed with accuracy, and the duration of its passage gives the desired velocity. Unfortunately, the longest time, during which a meteor is visible, is only about four seconds, and the error of half a second in its observation is, consequently, a very serious one ; so that the computed velocity may be incorrect to an eighth, or even a fourth part of its whole amount. Such was the case with the serpentine meteor of 1833, the observations upon which were collated by Mr. Twining, and he has proved that the length of its visible path differed very little from fifty-five miles, while the estimated duration of its visibility varied from about two and a half to more than three seconds. By adopting three seconds as the most probable estimate, he obtained eighteen and one third miles per second for the meteor's relative velocity. Combining this *datum* with the other observed elements, Mr. Walker has carefully computed the orbit of the November shower, and it follows from his results, that its perihelion distance is only one hundred and ninety thousand miles. But the sun's radius is four hundred and forty-six thousand miles, so that the shower would be obliged to pass directly through the sun. As this cannot be, we are forced to modify Mr. Twining's estimate, and the change of a single mile is enough to escape this difficulty. The time of revolution is also found to be about one hundred and thirty days, which is more than one third of a year. A shorter period than this would be altogether impossible ; we cannot, therefore, meet the same cluster of meteors every November, unless their period is annual, or semi-annual. With the period of a year, Mr. Walker shows that the observed velocity of the meteors should be thirty-three miles per second, and, with that of half a year, twenty-seven miles ; either of which is inconsistent with Mr. Twining's computation, and, therefore, inadmissible. By the cosmical theory, we are thus driven to the hypothesis of a ring of meteors surrounding the sun, as the only possible method of accounting for the recurrence of the November showers.

On the 10th of August, 1837, four meteors were simultaneously observed at Berlin and Breslau, of which the direction was from the radiating space corresponding to that period ; the average length of their paths was forty-six and a half miles, but the duration of their visibility is not known.

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To ascertain this point, we resort to the questionable evidence derived from the observations of another, at a different time and place; "Mr. Custodes found, from ninety-eight shooting stars, seen on the 9th of August, 1837, at Dusseldorf, that the mean duration of visibility was one and a fifth seconds; that of twenty-eight of the largest size, one and three quarters seconds; and none over three seconds." Two of the meteors above given were of the first magnitude, one was small, and the fourth was of the average size. Supposing, then, three of them to be of the mean, and one of the longer duration, we obtain one and a third seconds for the average duration, and thirty-five miles per second for the relative velocity. The proper allowance for the earth's velocity leaves for the actual velocity of the meteors twenty-four and a half miles per second, which is sufficient to carry them off to an infinite distance from the sun in a hyperbolic orbit. The relative velocity must, indeed, be less than thirty-three and one third miles per second, which corresponds to a parabolic orbit. The duration of one and three quarters seconds gives a relative velocity of twenty-six and a half miles, an actual velocity of seventeen miles, and a period of revolution which is a little more than a year. The annual period is shown by Mr. Walker to correspond to a relative velocity of twenty-five and one fifth miles, which would give for the average passage of our four meteors about two and six sevenths seconds. This period would then be quite admissible, if it could be reconciled with the observations in the opposite portion of the earth's orbit; that is, with those made about the 7th of February, at which time not a single shower occurs in Quetelet's catalogue, until they were particularly looked for, and, after this time, only in the year 1840. We do not, therefore, hesitate to reject this period of the year, and also that of the half year, for which Mr. Walker gives the relative velocity of twelve and three quarters miles per second, which would require a duration of nearly four seconds for the four meteors. For the August, as well as the November shower, therefore, the meteoric ring seems the necessary resort for the advocates of the cosmical theory.

Mr. Erman and others contend, that these results are confirmed by some accidental observations of striking obscurations of the sun and shooting stars, seen in the day time,

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about the end of February, and the middle of May, at which times we are on the opposite side of the rings, but we regard them as too vague to be valuable as evidence. Mr. Erman has also undertaken to prove, that there is an important diminution of temperature about the 7th of February and the 12th of May, as if a body were at that time interposed between the earth and the sun ; this ingenious attempt has not been sufficiently successful to gain any proselytes to the doctrine, and it is not confirmed by the probable velocity of the August meteors, which indicates that they are superior, and not inferior, to the earth's orbit.

Not without reluctance do we now approach the most ungracious part of our task, that of opposing the cosmical theory, without proposing a substitute. To make a negative argument is proverbially easy, but to persuade men of its truth is difficult ; a state of disbelief and unsettled opinion is so unpleasant and so galling to human pride, that the world is ever ready to fly from it into the arms of any plausible and seductive error. If the wildest hypotheses find advocates who even boast of their spiritual and mystical faith, and who can believe without comprehending, it cannot be surprising that due weight may not have been given to all the objections which might be urged against a theory so ably sustained by facts and philosophy. We begin our attack with disclaiming almost every argument which Mr. Galloway has advanced against the cosmical theory, as trivial and unimportant. First, the fact that, on the periodic nights, meteors are seen to shoot in every direction, is not a substantial objection, for there is just as good reason for the visits of the unconformable meteors on these nights as on any others ; nor, secondly, should we rely upon the probability that they are self-luminous ; for the principal proof of this, the very great height of some of them above the atmosphere, evinces only that they are not of terrestrial origin ; and, thirdly, with regard to the immense velocity, which Wartmann has observed in some instances, while it is too great for a body of the solar system, it is also too great for one derived from the earth, and it shows, perhaps, that, while there are meteors revolving about the planets, and others about the sun, there is still a third class, which move through space, from star to star. Wartmann, it is true, inferred from their rapid progress that they were of electrical origin, which is equiv-

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alent to confessing his total ignorance of their nature. Galloway's fourth objection, that they are not oftener attracted to the earth, is unintelligible, but appears to depend upon a false impression, that the shooting stars are supposed to be solid masses, so that they could be discovered if they were to fall to the ground. But his fifth and final objection is of radical importance, that they have been observed by Brandes and Wartmann to move directly from the earth in a path which, being produced backward, would pass directly through it. We do not, however, feel justified in pressing it, since Bessel has "shown, that every instance, in which Brandes's computations gave an upward motion of a meteor, may be made to indicate the reverse, by applying a correction of the observed points of beginning and end of the apparent path of a meteor, not much exceeding the probable error of such observations"; and it is not impossible, that Wartmann's cases will yield to the same method of examination.

The first difficulty which meets us, as a serious obstacle to a belief in the cosmical theory, is the obvious one of the great thickness required for the rings. The November shower occurred in 1813, as early as the 8th of the month, and in 1826, upon the 6th; in 1836, 1837, and 1842, it occurred on the 15th. The August shower, similarly, was seen on the 6th, in the years 1784 and 1819; on the 7th, in 1451 and 1784; on the 8th, in 1781, 1784, 1801, 1835, and 1836, and lasted till the 15th in 1823, 1826, 1827, and 1834. The earth must, then, be nine days in passing through each of these rings, and they must, consequently, be about fifteen million miles thick, or twelve million miles, after allowing for our oblique passage through them. This is an eighth part of the sun's distance, and more than thirteen times the sun's diameter, whereas the thickness of Saturn's rings is only one seven hundredth part of the diameter of the planet. Such immense rings are not impossible, but they are singularly disproportioned to the transient phenomena by which they are indicated.

Our second objection arises from the magnitude of the space from which the meteors appear to radiate. After making every allowance for inaccuracy of observation, we have not been able to reduce this space into dimensions below a circle of forty degrees in diameter; nor has an honest regard to the facts, uninfluenced by any peculiar faith or

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skepticism, permitted us to draw a smaller circle, and exclude all those meteors from participation in the phenomena of radiation, whose paths would not, when produced, pass through that circle. Any attempt to do this is sure to leave the number of unconformable meteors unusually great, at the expense of the shower, and the too hastily rejected meteors have a convergent character as earnestly demanding explanation as the primary phenomenon. Of the two hundred and eighty-eight convergent meteors, observed at the August periods in 1837 and 1839, at Königsberg and Berlin, one hundred and four radiated from a space of five degrees in radius; sixty-four more were added by increasing the radius of the space to ten degrees; sixty-three more by increasing it to fifteen degrees; and the remaining fifty-seven, by extending it to twenty degrees. Instead of being precisely parallel, therefore, the relative paths of some of the meteors must make an angle with the mean direction of at least twenty degrees. The meteors are so light, that their mutual influence upon each other's motions must be too small to be appreciable, and the only important difference of their actual directions must, therefore, arise from the essential diversity of their orbits. But no orbit can differ from the mean orbit more than enough to enable the meteor to pass from one side of the ring to the other in the interval of half its period of revolution. Here is a source from which a deviation of four degrees may be derived in the case of the great ring twelve million miles thick. This velocity might be greatly magnified, if the relative velocity of the meteors were small; but, great as it is, there cannot be an augmentation of more than twenty-five *per cent.*, or one degree. An authority to which we would willingly yield has privately suggested, that the remainder of the deflection may arise from the impinging of the meteors against the surface of the atmosphere. To this we reply, that such an effect should be nearly the same upon all the meteors which strike the atmosphere at the same time, and, consequently, at the same angle, and should vary with the hour of night, so as to give a sensible motion to the point of radiation; and that the meteor would not be so much affected at the instant of entering the atmosphere, without being afterwards perceptibly retarded and curved in its course. The only way, which we perceive, of accounting for this perplexing phenomenon, is boldly to

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quadruple the already enormous thickness of the rings, and, as the deviation of the meteors is equally great in every direction, and upon each night of the observation, the dimensions must likewise be extended in the direction of the sun. What have we now? A cylindrical ring, of which the section is forty-eight million miles in diameter!

Thirdly, we are not satisfied of the fixedness of the radiating space; that it is fixed during the night is a fact that seems, indeed, to be tolerably well established, although Mr. Twining's comparison of the observations of 1833 suggests a reasonable doubt even upon this point; but the radiant does not appear to occupy the same part of the heavens at different places. The demonstration of this has been ably and, as it seems to us, justly exhibited with regard to the shower of November, 1833, by Professor Twining. He has drawn up a table of the declinations of the radiant, given by various observers, or computed independently one of another from their accounts, without any effort at reconciliation. We copy it with the addition of a single column. In the first column is the observer's name, in the second, his latitude, in the third, the declination of his radiant, and in the fourth, a declination which is calculated upon the assumptions, that the New Haven observation is correct, and that the declination increases with the decrease of the latitude of the observer, at the rate of nineteen degrees of declination to ten degrees of latitude.

Observer.	Observer's North Latitude.	N. Declination of Radiant.	Calculated Dec. of Rad.
Mr. D. A. Strong	42° 52′	17°	17°
Mr. F. Merrick	41 33	19¼	19½
Prof. Olmsted	41 18	20	20
Mr. J. L. Riddel	40 4	21⅝	22¼
Prof. Aiken	39 40	23¾	23
Prof. Thomson	34 30	33	33
Capt. Parker	26 0	49	49

The close coincidence of the two last columns of this table is strong evidence of the correctness of the assumed change of declination in the position of the radiant. The accuracy of the observations upon which the table is constructed is shown by Professor Twining to be complete, except in the case of the two last observations, of Professor Thom-

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son and Captain Parker. Professor Thomson's observation is changed by Mr. Walker from thirty-three to twenty-three degrees, without any reason being assigned, and that of Captain Parker is wholly set aside by him, as uncertain. But Professor Twining's estimate from Professor Thomson's *data* is only three degrees more than Mr. Dunster's observed declination in 1836; and it is singular, that, if it is substituted for Mr. Walker's, it gives, with the omission of Captain Parker's, a mean of twenty-two degrees for November, 1833, which is the same with that obtained by Mr. Walker for the other years. Professor Thomson's statement is, that "the meteors fell towards the earth at an angle of about 75° with the horizon, moving from the east towards the west;" and he afterwards adds, that "the position of the apparent radiating point may readily be found on a celestial globe by noting the latitude of the place, 34° 30′ north, and the time, namely, five o'clock, A. M., together with the angle of fall above mentioned." Upon which Professor Twining justly observes, that, "from the nature of the *data*, namely, the general course of the meteors and the angle of their descent, it is uncertain whether Professor Thomson intended to be understood as speaking with precision; yet so much as this is certain, that, if the declination had not varied northward considerably, when compared with the same at New Haven, the course of the meteors at five o'clock would have lain far north of west, and the radiant would have wheeled round rapidly towards the south, as morning approached." The number given in the table for Professor Thomson's declination precisely coincides, it is proper to remark, with his own account. Even without Captain Parker's observation, the other *data* are sufficient for our purpose, but his statement, already given, appears to us so precise, so perfectly consistent with itself and the other observations, and so decidedly at variance with the New Haven position of the radiant, that we are fully persuaded of its correctness, and strenuously oppose its rejection. The New Haven radiant was nearly to the east of Captain Parker, and rose fifteen degrees in the course of an hour; whereas the declination of the table corresponds most minutely with Captain Parker's account of a point in the northeast, which rose about ten degrees in an hour.

Our position is, therefore, fully sustained by the shower best fitted to test it, from the comparative facility of observation. In confirmation of this local variation of the radiant,

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we do not dare to rely upon the constantly observed excess of five degrees in the declination of the New Haven radiant at the November period, over those of New York, West Point, and other places, because we doubt the accuracy of almost all the observations which have been made in this country upon the smaller showers, and of all, indeed, which have been made in any place whatever, without being accurately registered. In all these cases, we are persuaded, that the mind of the observer is influenced by his prejudices, and, however honest and sincere he may be, he is sure to see the meteors radiating from the point which he has previously determined. For the same reason, we do not dwell upon the observations at the Vienna observatory, on November 13th, 1838, when one hundred and sixty-seven meteors were seen in an hour, of which Mr. Littrow "ascribes the convergent point to the earth's motion in space." But Humboldt and Bonpland's description of the great shower of November, 1799, plainly indicates a radiating point far to the north of Captain Parker's, and having a northern declination of at least sixty degrees; for it was below the horizon at a time when the neck of Leo was at an elevation of from ten to forty degrees. "The direction of the meteors," says Humboldt, "was regularly from north to south; they filled a celestial space extending from the northeast thirty degrees to the north and south. Through an amplitude of sixty degrees, they were seen to rise above the horizon at E. N. E. to E., traverse arcs larger or smaller, and fall to the south, after having followed the direction of the meridian. Some attained forty degrees in altitude, all surpassed twenty-five or thirty degrees." The accurate observations of the August period exhibit the same difference in the position of the radiant. Thus, in 1837, it was six degrees farther north at Berlin than at Breslau, and, in 1839 and 1840, four degrees farther north at Königsberg and Philadelphia than at Berlin; this is the comparison of nicely computed results, in most of which, the probable error is supposed by the astronomers to be about two degrees, and in no instance to exceed three degrees.

In August, 1838, Herschel's radiant, at Collingwood in England, was γ Persei, and in 1839 it was β *Camelopardi*; while, in 1840, Schaeffer's radiant at Jamaica was one third of the way from ε to ι *Cassiopeæ*. Such local differences in the position of the radiant are utterly inexplicable upon the cosmical theory.

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Our examination of the phenomena has thus led us to the conclusion, that, while no other than the cosmical theory can explain a precise and limited convergence, periodicity, and fixedness of the radiating point, of the shooting stars, each of these three phenomena, as observed, is of so decidedly indefinite a character as to be irreconcilable with this theory, and shows it to be, at the utmost, merely an uncertain approximation to the truth. We have waived some arguments, which might fairly be adduced, from the great velocity with which the meteors have recently been observed to radiate in November; from the striking coincidence, that there is the same point of radiation in the August and December showers, and in that of November, 1841, observed by Quetelet; and from the local character of the meteoric phenomena referred to by Humboldt. He observes that they are more frequent over land than sea, and this seems to be confirmed by many of the facts connected with the showers of 1799 and 1833, the latter of which was magnificent at New York two hours before it was noticed at New Haven, and was witnessed in all its splendor at the Bermudas, Cuba, and in Florida, while it was comparatively small to Captain Parker, in the Gulf of Mexico, and to the captain of a brig in the Atlantic. We have also passed by the objections which occurred to us, when we found that the showers were sometimes seen while the radiant was depressed far below the horizon. Thus, the shower of 1833 commenced at Charleston, South Carolina, and near Augusta, in Georgia, at nine o'clock in the evening, while the radiant was twenty degrees below the horizon. Nor have we alluded to the startling fact, that many shooting stars have been observed, at the November period, to proceed directly towards the radiating space. This was first noticed by Professor Lovering, in 1838; and was exhibited by ten of the thirty-four meteors observed at Königsberg in 1839, by ten of the thirty-four observed at Berlin in 1836, and by eleven of the fifty-four observed at London in 1838. Galloway thought, that the great accumulation of periods, which now occur almost once a month, discredited the whole of them. The objection is, however, more plausible than sound, for, if they are all true periods, they cannot disprove one another; still less can the falsely assumed periods be used as a weapon against the true ones. In order, now,

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not to be misunderstood, we unequivocally state our firm belief in the periods, and in the fundamental phenomena upon which the cosmical theory is founded; but we are not convinced of the truth of the theory itself, or of its sufficiency to explain the phenomena.

Another subject of discussion regarding the meteors is the source of their light. It has been generally supposed to be derived from their passage through the air, which is condensed before them, and raised to a high temperature. But the very great difference of the heights at which they are first seen, varying from eight to five hundred miles, is a serious objection to this view, and quite conclusive, if we admit the accuracy of the upper limit, which is given by Wartmann, and which must be far above the surface of the atmosphere. Wartmann and his son have also observed a few meteors, which disappeared in their course, and then reappeared; one, seen by himself, having remained invisible for three fourths of a second. Such a phenomenon seems hardly to be accounted for by the atmospheric hypothesis. As the meteors, when seen, are generally in the earth's shadow, they cannot derive their light from the sun, and it has, therefore, been supposed that they are self-luminous. The luminous train, which is so often left behind, is thought to be in the atmosphere, because it appears to be carried along by the wind. The color of the meteors is very variable, being, in different cases, red, white, blue, and green; and, in some fire-balls, various hues have been observed at the same time. Sound has sometimes been thought to proceed from them, but this fact is very doubtful. Professor Olmsted inclines to the belief, that, in the shower of 1833, "hissing noises, like the rushing of a skyrocket, were heard, or slight explosions, like the bursting of the same bodies. These comparisons occur too uniformly, and in too many instances, to permit us to suppose that they were either imaginary or derived from extraneous sources." These sounds were not, however, heard by Professor Olmsted himself, Dr. Smith, Professor Aiken, and many other observers; and President Humphreys said, that it was "a perfectly silent dance of the stars."

The convergent shooting stars must be carefully distinguished from other meteoric phenomena; not that they may not be theoretically connected with them, but their characteristic

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phenomena are essentially different. They are not to be confounded with the aerolites, for these, as far as their motions have been calculated, have been found to have a relative velocity too small to carry them beyond the earth's sphere of attraction, so that they may either be terrestrial satellites, or the products of a lunar volcano. They must also be distinguished from the *aurora borealis ;* which affects the magnetic needle, has the magnetic pole for its radiant, is seen as often at one season as at another, and has a different character of periodicity ; for Mairan has shown, that, after being frequently seen for several successive years, it disappears for a long period. Quetelet and others have, however, thought that these phenomena are connected together, and with storms, earthquakes, &c. But the links or laws of connexion have in no case been discovered, and Quetelet is undoubtedly pursuing the only path which can ever lead to their discovery, that of careful inductive observation. Much time has been wasted in useless speculation, and in vain attempts at solving the obscure problems here involved, by some less wearisome process than that of laborious research. But the Gordian knot can only be cut by the sword of an Alexander ; and the rewards of genius are inexorably denied to the impatient and superficial guesser.

ART. VIII. — 1. *Final Report on the Geology of Massachusetts.* By EDWARD HITCHCOCK, LL. D., Professor of Chemistry and Natural History in Amherst College, Geologist to the State of Massachusetts, etc. Amherst : J. S. & C. Adams. Two Volumes. 4to. pp. 831. Plates 55.

2. *Elementary Geology.* By EDWARD HITCHCOCK, LL. D. Third Edition, revised and improved. With an Introductory Notice, by JOHN PYE SMITH, D. D. New York. 8vo. pp. 348.

THE honor of the first movement in the great work of Geological Surveys in the United States belongs to North Carolina. In 1823, at the suggestion of Professor Olmsted, the legislature of that State commissioned him to execute a

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Geological Survey. His report was restricted to Economical Geology, and was published, in two parts, in 1824 and 1825. In the following year, South Carolina gave a similar commission to Professor Vanuxem, whose report was published in the newspapers. In 1828, in a review of Professor Olmsted's report, Professor Hitchcock invited the attention of other legislatures to this subject. The survey of North Carolina, he remarked, —

"was attended with great success, and certainly confers much honor upon its projector, and upon the intelligent representatives who provided the means of carrying it into execution. It is a good example, therefore, to hold up before other legislatures, to induce them to adopt a similar course. What an accession would be made to our resources and to a knowledge of our country, were a thorough examination to be instituted into our mineralogical, geological, and even botanical riches! How worthy the genius of our government to have an accurate geological map, with an accompanying report, accessible to all our citizens!" — *American Journal of Science*, Vol. XIV. p. 230.

The example, however, of the Carolinas seemed to be forgotten, and a plan had been matured for a convention of scientific men from various parts of New England, to consider this subject and petition the legislatures. But in the spring of 1830, the legislature of Massachusetts ordered a trigonometrical survey of the State, with a view to the construction of a map; and, at the suggestion of Professor Hitchcock, Governor Lincoln recommended to the legislature to connect with it a Geological Survey, which was accordingly ordered. The surveyor received his commission, and immediately entered upon the work. Enthusiasm in the pursuit of this science had not suffered him to remain idle in previous years, and the fruits of his former labors were immediately available, and constituted no inconsiderable portion of the report made in 1833. In 1832, the first report, which was little more than a preliminary survey, was published in a pamphlet of seventy pages. In 1833, a full and, as was then supposed, a final report was published in an octavo volume of seven hundred and two pages, with a geological map and an atlas of plates. A second edition was printed in the following year. To this report were appended catalogues, formed by several zoölogists, of the animals of the State, and, by the Geological Surveyor, of the native

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plants. For an account of this valuable work we refer our readers to a former volume of this Review. *

Although a great number of facts had been collected and arranged, and had led to many important and interesting inferences, it soon appeared, from the discovery of fossil footmarks and of many other new phenomena, that Professor Hitchcock had only commenced the work. In 1836, however, he was persuaded to undertake the survey of the Eastern District of New York. Fortunately for Massachusetts, an ardent desire to continue the exploration of his native State, and feeble health, induced him to send in his resignation. Near the close of 1836, Professor Hitchcock addressed a letter to Governor Everett, urging the importance of further researches in the Geology of the State, and recommending that the departments of Zoölogy and Botany should be committed to the Boston Society of Natural History. This plan was adopted by the legislature, and a new survey was commenced in 1837.

In 1838, a pamphlet on the Economical Geology of the State was published, which, like the first, was intended merely as a *reconnaissance*. During four years, the Geological Survey was carried on with an industry and perseverance which knew no limits, and the materials were collected for the "Final Report." After some unavoidable delay in printing, this at length appeared in the noble quarto volumes which are now before us. It is much to the credit of Massachusetts, that this work, the fruit of the enlightened views of her legislature, and of the efficiency of her executive, has been given to the public in a form worthy of its contents. The volumes relating to the "Natural History of New York" are published in a style equally rich, and it is to be hoped that other States, also, will follow the example, in this respect, of New York and Massachusetts. With greater pecuniary resources, the number of pictorial illustrations, to use a current phrase, might probably have been increased; but, in times of so much zeal for public economy, we could not have expected more. It is a curious circumstance, that one of the principal objects originally contemplated in this undertaking, the coloring of the geological formations on the map to be executed by the Trigonometrical

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLII. p. 422.

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Survey, has not been accomplished, for the obvious reason, that this map is not yet completed.

It will be seen, from some prefatory remarks of the author, that the "Final Report" is not merely a third edition of the first, as may have been anticipated, and as has been inadvertently remarked by the editors of a scientific journal. Even if the work had been enlarged only by some additional observations on subjects previously investigated, the appropriation for a new survey would have been profitably expended. The constitution of soils, and the means of their improvement, which were scarcely noticed in the "First Report," occupy upwards of one hundred pages. We have the results of four hundred analyses, each of which was performed three times, an amount of labor which the chemist only can appreciate. The curious subject of claystones is enriched by the addition of many facts, and has so outgrown the space allotted to it in the first edition as to be scarcely recognizable. Not to mention a great number of discoveries which have been made in the new survey, and which have rendered it necessary to rewrite nearly the whole work, the subject of "Ichnolithology," occupying sixty quarto pages and twenty-two plates, is entirely new, and we may safely affirm, that facts are related of greater interest, respecting this subject, than can be found in any other geological treatise.

The "Final Report" consists of four parts; namely, Economical, Scenographical, Scientific, and Elementary Geology. More than half of the first part is devoted to the soils of Massachusetts, and forms a very valuable contribution to a branch of agricultural science which is yet in its infancy. The old method, of ascertaining merely the amount of organic matter in a soil, is justly regarded as of little practical utility. It is well known, that some soils, such as peat meadows, which contain a large quantity of organic matter, possess comparatively little fertility. The agriculturist, therefore, reasonably inquires, in what condition are the organic constituents of his soil. As the *spongelets*, through which, on the principle of *endosmosis*, the roots of plants receive nourishment from the soil, are permeated by liquid matter only, the first and most important step is taken, when the soluble and insoluble portions of decomposed organic matter are separately ascertained. This has

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been done in the analysis of specimens of one hundred and forty-six soils.

It is well known to those who have been watching the progress of organic chemistry, in its application to agriculture, that the attempt to advance beyond this first step, and to investigate the chemical constituents of the organic matter in soils, has been attended with no small difficulty, and very different views on this subject are entertained among eminent chemists. Unfortunately, the real difficulties in the case have been increased by a misunderstanding in the use of terms. The word "geine" has been the source of so much difficulty, from the different senses in which it has been used, that we should gladly see it expunged from the vocabulary of the chemist. Professor Hitchcock, wisely defining the use which he makes of this word, employs it in a comprehensive and popular sense, as denoting all the decomposed organic matter of soils. As our author is uniform in his use of the word, we shall not stop to inquire in what sense it was used by Berzelius. We do not by any means intend to assert, that geine, in the sense in which it is here used, denotes a proper chemical substance. While, together with the valuable suggestions of Dr. S. L. Dana, our author has given us the important results of his own analyses of soluble and insoluble geine, Dr. C. T. Jackson has satisfactorily proved that it is not a chemical substance, and has obtained from it crenic and apocrenic acids, and with these acids he has formed various salts. This distinguished analyst has also detected the existence of these acids in plants. The details of these and numerous other important researches of a similar character, which Dr. Jackson has been for several years accumulating, when published, will throw much light on a very difficult and intricate subject. In the *Rapport Annuel sur les Progrès de la Chimie* for 1841, by Berzelius, made to the Royal Academy of Stockholm, our readers may find a comprehensive view of the researches of Niulder on the constitution and properties of the non-nitrogenous constituents of the organic matter in soils, which are much more numerous than those that contain nitrogen. The latter class, indeed, embraces only the two acids above mentioned.

Professor Hitchcock has shown by his analyses, that all our soils contain phosphates, and he infers, from the examination of a portion of them for phosphate of lime, that this salt

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is invariably present. Other chemists have come to the same conclusion in respect to soils generally. This result was anticipated from the fact, that, in many esculent plants, especially in Indian corn, this substance exists in large quantities; and, since the bones of all vertebrated animals are in a great measure constituted of the same salt, it requires not much prophetic skill to foresee its discovery in the food of every species of these animals.

The remarkable fact is shown by the analyses of Professor Hitchcock, that, with a few exceptions, the soils of the State are entirely destitute of carbonate of lime. On the other hand, it appears that sulphate of lime is almost universally present. The judicious application of these salts is explained and enforced. The analyses of our author also prove, that the fertility of soils does not depend entirely upon the quantity which they contain of the above-named salts and of organic matter. Other circumstances, such as the state of mechanical division, and the power of absorbing and retaining moisture, have an important influence. The details of numerous experiments, on the absorbing and retaining properties of soils, are given in a table.

The general conclusions of a practical nature at which the author arrives, from the consideration of this subject, are the following.

"First: there is, in general, too small a supply of calcareous matter in our soils; that is, of lime.

"The second great desideratum is an additional supply of geine, or the food of plants.

"Hence, thirdly, the great object of the agricultural chemist should be, to discover new supplies of both these substances; and suggest means for their proper and successful application by the farmer." — p. 67.

Accordingly, Professor Hitchcock gave particular attention to the discovery of deposits of these substances. Eleven beds of marl are described, and the results of their analyses exhibited. Directions are also given for their use. After describing some other calcareous deposits, our author presents his readers with an account of the limestones of the State, in their relations to agriculture. Another interesting result of the new survey is the discovery of an extensive deposit of green sand, in Duxbury and Marshfield. It differs

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essentially from that of New Jersey, in the almost entire absence of potassa, but contains a large per-centage of protoxide of iron, from the presence of which, its utility as a fertilizing agent is rendered probable. The natural sources of vegetable nutriment in peat swamps, marsh mud, and muck sand, and the manner of using them, are pointed out.

The use of muck sand, often called quicksand, is a novelty in agriculture. On the subject of fossil fuel, the most interesting facts have been discovered since the publication of the First Report. The favorable location of the anthracite of Mansfield, near the junction of the railroads which connect Boston, Providence, Taunton, and New Bedford, as well as the number and thickness of the beds of coal, justly excited high expectations in the companies which so successfully commenced their explorations. Whenever a more prosperous time for the capitalists shall admit of the heavy investment which is necessary in the first stages of such an enterprise, there is good reason to hope that the State will no longer be compelled to send abroad annually the amount of two and a half millions of dollars to purchase fuel.

Under the head of "rocks useful for architectural and ornamental purposes," several discoveries have been made since the publication of the Report of 1833. A peculiar variety of soapstone has been found in Andover, which, on account of its hardness, may be used in external architecture. The inexhaustible quantity of the serpentine of Lynnfield, its vicinity to Salem and Boston, and the facility with which it may be wrought, must eventually render it of great value. The importance of the most economical methods of burning lime is duly appreciated by our author. Various modes of doing it are described, and illustrated with plates. It is a curious fact, which is one of the innumerable illustrations of the value and the deficiency of geological information in the community, that, in most of the towns in Berkshire county which have been most noted for burning lime, "no ledges of limestone occur; but dependence has been placed entirely on the loose blocks that diluvial action has driven thither from the neighbouring towns. And I have been assured, that the inhabitants of some towns, which are based upon good limestone, transport most of the lime that they use from quarries in towns where very little exists in ledges,

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under an idea that they have no limestone where they live that is worth burning."

The Second Part, or Scenographical Geology, has been enriched by the addition of a great number of wood-cuts and plates, from drawings which were gratuitously furnished by several artists. Many new and remarkable features in the striking scenery of Berkshire county are described in a manner which is itself a practical illustration of the intimate connexion between geological pursuits and the love of the beautiful and sublime in nature. We find the following description of a projecting precipice on Mount Washington, near the western line of the State.

"Let the observer either follow back the rough path he has just trodden on the south side of the stream, or follow, by a circuitous route, the north bank, until he reaches the spot above the upper falls, where he first entered the gorge, and there he will find a steep footpath, which will conduct him to the top of the precipice that overhangs these falls. This is mostly covered by bushes; yet in one place he can advance to its very edge, and, as the edge projects upwards a little, it is well adapted to prevent one from falling over. On letting down a stone from this spot, with a string attached, I found that it required a length of 194 feet before the water was reached. I have scarcely ever felt such a creeping and shrinking of the nerves, and disposition to draw back, as here. Even though I took hold of bushes with both hands, I could not comfortably keep my eyes turned long into the frightful and yawning gulf; for it seemed as if it needed only a stamp of the foot, or perchance only my weight, to cause the rock on which I stood to follow the example of multitudes of the same kind that were strewed at its base." — p. 292.

Part Third, or Scientific Geology, is the most voluminous, occupying 414 pages. We can glance only at a few of the more interesting subjects which have been developed since the publication of the First Report. Following the same order, in the description of the formations, which was noticed on a former occasion, our author commences at the surface with alluvial deposits and agencies.

For one of the most remarkable of the recent discoveries in Palæontology we are indebted to the celebrated Prussian zoölogist, Ehrenberg, who has shown, that some alluvial deposits, as well as extensive strata in the older formations, are composed of the shields, or flint-shells, of fossil

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animalcules. Professor Bailey, of West Point, was the first in this country to detect these microscopic remains, and his subsequent researches on living and fossil infusoria are replete with interest.

"How very singular," says Professor Hitchcock, "that animals so very minute should perform so important an office in the geological changes that are taking place on the globe! Here we have deposites several feet thick, extending over hundreds of acres, made up entirely of the remains of animals, of which hundreds of thousands are requisite to form a single cubic inch! We have long been accustomed to admire the process by which the minute polyparia rear the extensive structures, known by the name of coral reefs, stretching over hundreds of leagues in the tropical seas. But now we find, that, within our own observation, we may see effects no less marvellous, produced by animals of a still more diminutive size, — too small, indeed, to be discovered by the naked eye." — pp. 310, 311.

These deposits are of a grayish white color, and are almost impalpable, like magnesia. One of the most extensive is in Andover, and is seventeen feet thick, and covers an area of six acres. Professor Hitchcock has inserted a valuable communication from Professor Bailey, in which are described five genera and numerous species of these curious relics of ancient animalcules.

In the next formation, diluvium or drift, a great number of interesting facts were described in the First Report, and the additional facts here presented do not lead to any farther generalization. But the numerous theories which have been offered by various writers, in order to settle the vexed question of the origin of drift, have rendered it expedient to enlarge and modify the theoretical remarks. For many years, Professor Hitchcock labored almost alone in this very difficult department of Geology, while others had given so little attention to many of the leading facts, that they supposed the phenomena in question to be chiefly the fruit of a strong imagination. Hence, the details which were given in the Report of 1833, and which the author had been accumulating for ten years, were obviously described with little reference to other geological works. It was not then known in this country, that the rounded hills and excavations of drift, which the admirers of the *Études sur les Glaciers* now call *moraines*, and the diluvial furrows on the surface of rocks,

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existed in Europe to any considerable extent. Accordingly, we find Professor Hitchcock, in 1835, using the following language; "But so far as I can judge, from the accounts which European Geologists have given us of diluvial action in that quarter of the globe, I doubt exceedingly whether it has left traces by any means as striking as in this country." "Such language implies that these traces are by no means common, as in this country." Very recently, however, European Geologists have given to this long neglected formation that attention which its peculiar difficulties require. But it is not a little remarkable, that, in their allusions to the kindred facts observed in this country, they represent them as *recently* discovered, although ten years had elapsed since Professor Hitchcock described and figured them. Whatever opinions may be entertained respecting the hypothetical views of our author, it is quite too late to deny him the merit of having first thoroughly explored this difficult subject.

In the First Report, we find our author maintaining that the accumulations of drift could not have been the product of any transient deluge, but that they were the result of various agencies operating through indefinite periods of time, and that they were finally "modified by a powerful deluge, sweeping from the north and northwest over every part of the State, not excepting the highest mountains." It was conjectured, that "this deluge might have been produced by the elevation of an extensive portion of the bottom of the arctic ocean." But whatever may have been the primary causes of diluvial action, the following inferences, in the Final Report, are considered as legitimate.

"1. The highest parts of New England, and in fact all the northern parts of our continent, have been swept over by a powerful current from the northwest to the southeast." "In Massachusetts, we have Mount Everett, not less than two thousand six hundred feet high, and Wachusett, three thousand feet high, and, in New Hampshire, Monadnoc, three thousand two hundred and fifty feet high, all bearing marks of powerful erosion, and all of them standing as insulated peaks, hundreds of feet above the surrounding country; and, in Maine, Dr. C. T. Jackson describes Mount Ktaadin as showing diluvial action on its summit, which is five thousand three hundred feet above the ocean."

In the third edition of the Elementary Geology, Professor

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Hitchcock gives the result of a recent visit to the White Mountains, with a figure of the rounded and water-worn rocks on Mount Washington, which are found at the height of five thousand feet. This is the highest part of the mountain on which any rock is found *in situ*.

"2. The diluvial waters must have been oceanic. What other aqueous agency could have produced a current two thousand miles in width, I am unable to conceive." [For we are told that it has swept over the whole country from Nova Scotia to Missouri, and over the tops of the highest mountains.]

"3. There is no reason to suppose that the inequalities of surface, which now exist, were essentially different at the epoch of diluvial action. Minor changes were, indeed, produced by that action, as well as by subsequent alluvial agency. But the great outlines remain unchanged. For we find the bowlders to have been obstructed just as they would have been, if the present mountains then existed; and, in some cases, the current was deflected just as it would be now. But the fact that has struck me as most decisive is this: Where large surfaces, often several square rods, and sometimes many acres, are smoothed and scratched, I have never seen any evidence of a change in the relative levels of different portions of that surface.

"4. Diluvial action in New England appears not to have taken place, till the continent had been raised nearly to its present height above the ocean. The counter supposition is, that it took place when the present surface formed the bed of the ocean, or was gradually rising above it."

But our limits will not permit us to transcribe the forcible arguments by which our author maintains his position, and overthrows the opposing theory.

"5. It is difficult to explain all the phenomena of diluvial action, without calling in the aid of icebergs, or some other agent, by which masses of rock could be floated along the surface of the waters; yet, after all, those icebergs will explain but a small part of the effects of this action.

"6. The phenomena of diluvial action in this country far transcend the effects of any agencies now operating, without admitting a great increase of intensity in their action." — pp. 397 – 401.

After these well-sustained inferences, our author very cautiously embarks on the ocean of hypothesis, in order to discover the cause of diluvial action. Several hypotheses, among them the now celebrated glacial theory of Agassiz,

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are examined and rejected. The theory to which preference is given is the following ; " That an extensive elevation of the bottom of the Arctic Ocean threw its waters, loaded with ice and detritus, southerly, over the American and also the Eastern continent. It supposes that there may have been a succession of elevatory movements." Against this hypothesis, however, Professor Hitchcock urges some serious objections, and remarks, " To my mind, therefore, no theory of diluvial action, hitherto proposed, is so free from objections that I feel satisfied with it." " I do not feel prepared to propose any regular theory of this agency, in which I place much confidence."

During the long period which elapsed while the Final Report was in press, a copy of the *Études sur les Glaciers*, by Agassiz, found its way to New Haven, and our author, with his usual zeal, went to that place to become better acquainted with its contents. The result is given at length in a postscript, which contains his views, as they were presented in his Address at Philadelphia, in April, 1841, before the Association of American Geologists. The first impressions of Professor Hitchcock, in favor of the theory of Agassiz, were certainly very sanguine. " Henceforth glacial action must form an important chapter in geology. While reading this work, and the abstracts of some papers by Agassiz, Buckland, and Lyell, on the evidence of ancient glaciers in Scotland and England, I seemed to be acquiring a new geological sense."

It is obvious, however, as we proceed, that even under the strong impulse of these first impressions, our author could not adopt this theory without important modifications ; for, after stating with his usual candor the arguments for and against it, he concludes his examination of this theory with the following remarks. " But I can hardly doubt that *glacio-aqueous* action has been the controlling power in producing the phenomena of drift. Having hovered so long over the shoreless and troubled ocean of uncertainty and doubt, I may be too ready to alight on what looks like *terra firma*. But, should it prove a Delos, I have only to plume my wings again, when it sinks beneath the waves."

The darkness which formerly brooded over this difficult subject, and the illustrious name of Agassiz, conspired to gain for the glacial theory an enthusiastic reception from many

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eminent geologists, which, under other circumstances, it would not have obtained. It is, therefore, certainly no more than justice to the opinions of Professor Hitchcock, that they should be inferred from his impartial examination of this theory as a whole, and from his concluding remarks, rather than from the general and complimentary expressions with which the theory is introduced. Thus understood, his Address harmonizes with his remarks published, at nearly the same time, in the second edition of the Elementary Geology.

Professor Hitchcock had formerly described certain beds of clay as a deposit of the "Newest Tertiary." But, within a few years, numerous instances have been found in which this clay overlies, or is "interstratified" with, drift. Our author, therefore, calls it diluvial clay, and says, that "whenever valleys of any considerable extent existed in the State at the period of diluvial action, and these were cut off from the ocean by some barrier, I find this clay and sand." It is supposed, that the deposition took place during the subsequent gradual drainage of the waters.

The most remarkable circumstance connected with diluvial clay is the existence of the "clay-stones," which are found in it. One of the most common forms of these singular concretions is that of a sphere, much flattened, and resembling a coin with the edges rounded. Similar concretions have been observed, although but in few localities, in Europe, and their nature does not appear to be generally understood. We are informed in a note, that a specimen from the Kimmeridge clay was forwarded to Professor Hitchcock by an able English geologist, with this label; "Kimmeridge coal money, (use and age unknown,) found abundantly in the Kimmeridge clay, Dorset coast." On the authority of Mr. Frederick Tamnau, Jr., a distinguished Prussian mineralogist, we are informed, that, in Sweden, the scientific men believe these clay-stones to be the remains of some kind of Mollusca. Mr. Tamnau is of opinion, that they are concretions, like those of Massachusetts, and Professor Hitchcock pronounces the specimens received from Nykoping to be "precisely like the clay-stones of Massachusetts." The original researches, therefore, of our author on this subject, showing the chemical constitution of these concretions, their six predominant types of form, of which the modifications are innumerable, and their other physical

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characters, are both valuable and well-timed. His conclusions are, "that these concretions were formed by the accretion of carbonate of lime around certain centres of attraction in the clay; which, although pervious to the solution of cementing matter, does not appear to have been removed from its original position"; that, "if we conceive of modifications in the form and consistency of the clay, and the carbonate of lime in solution, we can give a probable explanation of the varieties of form"; and "that these concretions are produced by laws as definite as those of crystallography." Not the least striking feature in the appearance of many of the clay-stones is their rude and burlesque resemblance of certain animals or artificial objects, some having the outline of various birds, quadrupeds, and reptiles, and others, of Pagan images, spectacles, teapot covers, and broad-brimmed hats.

Passing by many subjects, which are not entirely new to the Final Report, we come to the most important of Professor Hitchcock's numerous discoveries in geology, — the fossil foot-marks in the new red sandstone of the Connecticut valley. These impressions were discovered soon after the publication of the second edition of the First Report. To the review of that Report we refer our readers for a synopsis of the facts, which were first presented to the public by our author in the "American Journal of Science." It was stated by Professor Hitchcock himself, that his attention was first called to this subject by Dr. James Dean of Greenfield, who forwarded to him a cast of a specimen. Neither at that time, however, nor for some years afterwards, had Dr. Dean given any attention to these relics of the sandstone pedestrians, farther than by rendering aid, in the localities of his vicinity, to our author's extremely laborious researches. In one sense, indeed, the merit of the discovery is his, unless, as is not improbable, it belongs, in the same sense, to some unknown third person. For how many of their discoveries in science have the learned been indebted to the accidental observations of intelligent friends, who, for the want of time, perhaps of scientific information, or even of pecuniary resources, were not able to prosecute the researches, to which they have given the clue! Invariable usage has long since decided, that the merit of a discovery belongs, not to him who may have accidentally

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found a specimen, but to him who first investigates and makes known its scientific characters and relations. While very great praise is due to Dr. Dean, the honor of the discovery, as a matter of science, must be awarded to our author. Having thus spoken of this gentleman, we add, with pleasure, that his own recent researches on this subject have been rewarded with the discovery of some new species. For several years, the very natural incredulity of geologists and others, in regard to the sandstone tracks, left Professor Hitchcock to bear, with little encouragement, except from his brethren in Europe, the ridicule which the extraordinary announcement occasioned. But now, when a Committee appointed by the American Association of Geologists have, with the most praiseworthy candor, yielded to the force of evidence, and explicitly declared that "the evidence entirely favors the views of Professor Hitchcock," and no one doubts that these impressions are the veritable tracks of animals, it is rather late to say that he is not the discoverer of them.

In his first publication on this subject, seven species of tracks were described, under the name of "Ornithichnites." This name, however, was understood to affirm that the animals were birds. Our author has, therefore, changed the name to "Ornithoidichnites," a sub-order of "Dipodichnites," which embraces seventeen species. Ten species are referred to a new sub-order, "Sauroidichnites." Each of the species is minutely described, and accurately figured. The circumstances of their situation, and all the collateral facts, are narrated, and illustrated with figures. The reader is thus prepared to form an independent judgment respecting the following conclusions.

"In the first place, these impressions are the tracks of animals, made while the materials composing the rock were in a yielding state.

"In the second place, these tracks were probably made upon the margin of an estuary or lake, where the waters experienced considerable changes of level; with intervals; and in a climate subject to the alternations of wet and dry seasons.

"In the third place, most of the tracks that have been described were made by bipeds.

"In the fourth place, I infer that most of the tracks that have been described were made by birds." — p. 508–510.

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The writer sustains these positions by a great variety of cogent arguments. In presenting a garbled statement of them, we should only do him injustice, and we must refer our readers to the work itself.

The geologist finds himself greatly perplexed by the position of the limestone of Berkshire county, and of the adjacent formations, where the older strata appear to lie upon those which are more recent. This inverted position occurs between the Green Mountains and Lake Champlain, and extends as far as Canada; and it seems probable, from the Reports on the Geology of other States, that it extends in the opposite direction into those States. Several hypotheses to account for this extraordinary inversion are examined and rejected.

"The only remaining theory is, that these rocks have actually been thrown over into an inverted position; or rather have been so contorted by a force acting laterally, that one or more folded axes have been produced. This theory I did, indeed, mention in my Report of 1835; but it then appeared to me too improbable to be admitted. Subsequent reflection and examination have led me to view it in a much more favorable light."—p. 577.

We can give but a very imperfect synopsis of the argument. In the first place, it is shown, by a particular application of this theory to the position of the several formations, illustrated by figures, that it would satisfactorily account for their inversion. In the second place, it explains why the strata of the valleys generally have a less dip, and are more irregular in their dip, than the strata on the mountains. Thirdly, thermal springs and the *dolomitization* of the limestone render it probable that there are extensive fractures in the direction of the strata. It is generally conceded, that similar disturbances have taken place on a small scale; and, finally, Beaumont's theory, of the plication of the crust of the earth in consequence of the contraction of its heated, but cooling, nucleus, presents an adequate force. The difficulty, however, of conceiving such an immense and terrific convulsion, reaching from Hoosac mountain to the Hudson river, without reference to its extent from Canada to Tennessee, is fully admitted by our author. "I confess," he says, "that my mind has staggered under the mighty thought, and I have involuntarily exclaimed, that such a work could

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have been performed only by Him 'who meted out heaven with a span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance.'"

In close connexion with this theory of inversion is that of the *dolomitization* of much of the limestone of Berkshire county. It has been found in other countries, that, when carbonate of lime is in contact with some unstratified rocks, or is in the vicinity of dislocated strata, it is impregnated with magnesia, or, in other words, it has been converted into Dolomite. The change is supposed to have taken place while the limestone was in a state of fusion, or, at least, softened by heat, and permeable to the gaseous sublimation of carbonate of magnesia. After describing the Dolomite of Berkshire, and the evidences of its change from the original limestone, our author observes; "Such are some of the marks of the powerful action of internal heat upon the rocks of Berkshire county. To the geologist and chemist they are as striking and convincing, almost, as the lava and smoke of Vesuvius are to the common observer. But, though this agency must have been powerful, when vast masses of limestone were melted and converted into Dolomite, and huge masses of slate impregnated with carbon, yet the only agency now exerted by these almost smothered solfataras is, to raise a few degrees the temperature of two or three springs."

Part Fourth consists of an abridgment of the "Elementary Geology," of which we have noticed a first and a second edition on former occasions. We have now the pleasure of announcing a third edition. The very short period, in which the second was exhausted, is sufficient evidence that our commendation is quite unnecessary.

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ART. IX. — 1. *A Message from the President of the United States, transmitting to the Senate a Treaty with Great Britain, and the Correspondence between* MR. WEBSTER *and* LORD ASHBURTON. Washington. 1842.

2. *Speech on the Treaty with Great Britain, delivered in the United States Senate.* By WILLIAM C. RIVES. August 17th and 19th, 1842.

3. *Speech in the Senate, on the Treaty of Washington.* By JOHN C. CALHOUN. August, 1842.

4. *Speech on the Ratification of the Treaty with Great Britain, delivered in the Senate of the United States.* By JAMES BUCHANAN. August 19th, 1842.

5. *Speech in the Senate, in Opposition to the Treaty.* By THOMAS H. BENTON. August 18th, 1842.

6. *Speech in the Senate, on Several Points arising in the Discussion of the Treaty with England.* By LEVI WOODBURY. August, 1842.

IT is one of the fortunate results of modern civilization, and of the clearer understanding of international law which goes hand in hand with it, that the differences between nations are more easily adjusted, and the causes of them less frequent, than in former times, when this law was not so perfectly defined, and when war was the pastime of restless and ambitious rulers, eager for plunder, for fame, or an extension of power. Discords among nations have their origin in two sources, opposite interests and contested rights. By a reasonable exercise of candor, clashing interests may be reconciled on the common principles of justice and mutual advantage; but where a right, or a supposed right, is involved in the dispute, it is then encumbered with new difficulties, because it touches the spring of national honor. Unhappily, the late misunderstanding between Great Britain and the United States, respecting the Northeastern Boundary, partook of this character. Hence, the longer it was discussed, the more vehemently each party insisted on its claims, and the more were the obstacles to an amicable arrangement enlarged and multiplied. It is not our purpose to investigate the details of this controversy, nor to reiterate the arguments which have been so often repeated. We shall confine our remarks to such a statement of the case, as may show on what grounds the

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question stood at the time when the negotiation of the late Treaty began, and to the principles and substance of the Treaty itself.

When it is considered how extremely little was known of the geography of the country in 1783, it cannot be a matter of surprise, that the framers of the treaty of peace should fail to define a boundary line of nearly two thousand miles in extent, with such precision as to leave no room for doubt and difference of opinion in the interpretation of their language. The part of the treaty, which has given rise to the dispute, and nearly brought the two nations into a conflict of arms, is contained in the following words. It is said that the boundary shall proceed "from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, namely, that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of the St. Croix River to the highlands, along the said highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut River." And, in another part of the same article, it is added, "east by a line to be drawn along the middle of the River St. Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those which fall into the River St. Lawrence." The meaning of these words has been the great point at issue.

As a proof of the deficiency of geographical knowledge at this time, it needs only to be stated, that, almost immediately after the ratification of the treaty, a dispute arose as to the identity of the St. Croix River. It appeared, that there were three rivers emptying themselves into the Passamaquoddy Bay, which had respectively been called by that name. The British claimed the most western, and the Americans the most eastern, as the one intended by the treaty. The difference was important, because it affected not only the line of boundary formed by the river itself, but the position of the northern line throughout its whole extent to the highlands. The question remained unsettled, till, by the Treaty of London, commonly called Jay's Treaty, it was provided that commissioners should be appointed by the two governments to examine and decide which was the true St. Croix. In this decision, the claim of the United States was sustained,

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and the dispute was settled. The testimony of Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay on this subject undoubtedly had much weight. A monument was erected at the source of the St. Croix, to denote the boundary at that place.

It still remained to find the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, which was to be sought somewhere in the line running due north from the monument, and at the point where this line should cross the highlands dividing streams which empty themselves into the St. Lawrence from those which run into the Atlantic Ocean. The line along those highlands to the head waters of the Connecticut River was also to be ascertained. And here it should be recollected, that the commissioners, who framed the treaty of 1783, did not pretend to describe a line which had before been surveyed or delineated, nor to define an angle which had been ascertained with mathematical exactness by actual measurement. It was known only, that Nova Scotia was bounded on the west and north by lines which must meet in an angle somewhere, and it was presumed that this angle was at the summit of certain highlands. The intention is supposed to have been, that this northeastern boundary should correspond with the old boundary between New England, Nova Scotia, and Canada; yet this had never been surveyed, or even described, except in the vague and general language of charters, commissions to governors, and proclamations. Hence, whatever may have been the intention of the negotiators, we see the reason why they expressed themselves with so much looseness and uncertainty. They could not describe with precision what was unknown. Yet the question rested entirely on a practical interpretation of their language, with such aids as could be derived from a more accurate knowledge of the topography of the country. If they had simply added to the word *highlands*, "north of the St. John," or "south of the St. John," the obscurity would have vanished at once, and there could have been but one opinion as to their meaning.

Again, there was a doubt concerning the particular branch of the Connecticut River intended by the treaty, and the line on the forty-fifth degree of latitude, between that river and the St. Lawrence, which was said to have been inaccurately surveyed. Moreover, the long line extending from this latter point to the Lake of the Woods and the head of the Mississippi, running through lakes and rivers, and wind-

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ing among islands, had never been determined. In this unsettled state was the important question of boundaries at the close of the last war. By the treaty of Ghent, the preliminary steps were taken for an amicable adjustment of the whole line. Four separate commissions were agreed upon, to each of which was to be assigned a part of the boundary. The first was to determine the line between the islands in the Passamaquoddy Bay ; the second was to take in hand the formidable task of defining the line from the source of the St. Croix to the point in the St. Lawrence, which is cut by the forty-fifth degree of latitude ; the third was to begin the line at this point, and pursue it to the outlet of Lake Superior, and " decide to which of the two parties the several islands lying in the lakes, water communications, and rivers forming the said boundary, do respectively belong " ; and the fourth was to decide the same from the outlet of Lake Superior to the northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods. Each of the governments was to appoint one commissioner for each of the commissions, and, in case these should disagree, the subject of difference was to be referred to some friendly sovereign or state, whose decision was to be final and conclusive. Commissioners were accordingly appointed for all these objects.

The first commission, for apportioning the islands in the Passamaquoddy Bay, was successful ; but not so the second. The primary object was, to find out the northwest angle of Nova Scotia. The commissioners commenced their survey at the monument, and proceeded in a due north line about forty miles, till they came to an eminence called Mars Hill. Here the British commissioner stopped short, and declared he had reached the highlands, and found the long-desired angle. This hill is far south of the river St. John, and more than a hundred miles from the nearest source of any of the streams flowing into the St. Lawrence, where, according to the words of the treaty, the highland boundary was to be met by a line running north from the St. Croix. From this time the dispute assumed a definite shape, each party claiming a different range of highlands, as answering the terms of the treaty, one at the north and the other at the south of the St. John.

From its mouth upward, the St. John takes a northwesterly direction, till after it crosses the line running north from the

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St. Croix, and then it sweeps off to the southwest, and receives its head waters near the sources of the Penobscot. The tributaries of all large rivers have their fountains in highlands on each side, forming a basin through which the main stream passes. Thus it is with the St. John, and this basin, west of the north line so often mentioned, was the territory in dispute, of a triangular form, consisting of about twelve thousand square miles, or more than seven and a half millions of acres, and almost equally divided by the River St. John. Whether this territory belonged to Maine or Great Britain depended on the point at which should be fixed the northwest angle of Nova Scotia. It is not necessary now to examine the merits of the controversy. It is enough to say, that the further it has been pursued, the more perplexed it has become, and the less likelihood there has been of an agreement. Down to the last, both parties have maintained their claim with equal pertinacity and apparent conviction. Lord Ashburton avows his firm belief, that the British right to the whole territory is incontestable ; and Mr. Webster declares, very justly, that no opinion was ever more unanimously adopted, both by the Congress and people of the United States, than the equity of the American claim to its fullest extent. Since all the facts are open to both parties, it is certainly remarkable that they should lead to such opposite conclusions.

As a clue to some of the difficulties of the case, we will say a few words on the attempts that have been made to find the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, on which pivot the whole controversy turns, since the highland boundary must begin at that angle. We have mentioned the discovery of the British commissioner at Mars Hill ; and his government afterwards maintained that there was the true angle of Nova Scotia. A construction so much at variance with what seemed to be the obvious sense of the treaty, however, was discountenanced by others, even in Great Britain. The report of Messrs. Mudge and Featherstonhaugh carries the angle considerably further north, about half way between Mars Hill and the St. John. It is true, they lay little stress upon this angle, because they argue that it ought to be placed further west on a line running north from the source of a stream emptying itself into the Schoodic Lakes, which they pronounce to be the genuine St. Croix. Again, Mr. Charles

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Buller, member of Parliament, wrote an able and ingenious paper,* chiefly to prove that the angle ought to be pushed up across the St. John to a point near the source of the Ristagouche, which runs northeasterly and falls into the Bay of Chaleurs. In his opinion, likewise, the words, "along the highlands," were not employed to denote a line running in a crooked direction along the sinuosities of any particular mountain range, but a straight line passing over the mountainous region between the northwest angle of Nova Scotia and the head waters of the Connecticut River. Mr. Buller accordingly confutes the argument in favor of the southern highlands, and the Mars Hill angle, which he says is "no angle at all of Nova Scotia," but a point in the middle of the western side of that province. If our information be correct, and we have no doubt it is, that Mr. Buller's paper was read and approved by Lord Palmerston before it was published, we have a striking proof of the little confidence reposed by the British government in the arguments which had been used to establish the angle at Mars Hill, and in favor of the southern highlands. Here, then, we have four angles, on the British side, and yet there cannot possibly be more than one true angle, and that a single point with a fixed locality. To assume two, or three, or any other number of angles, remote from each other, and to argue that the one or the other may or must be the angle of the treaty, is, in fact, to abandon the question, and to rest upon nothing.

If we turn to the American side, the conclusion will be nearly the same. The angle uniformly insisted on by the American negotiators is the point on the Canadian highlands, where the ridge of those highlands is cut by a line running due north from the source of the St. Croix. Yet other opinions have been advanced. In the instructions of the old Congress to the commissioners for negotiating the treaty of peace, the northwest angle of Nova Scotia is mentioned as being near the source of the St. John. It is supposed that they may have alluded to the Madawaska branch of that river, and this idea is thrown out by the Commissioners of Maine, in their reply to one of Lord Ashburton's communications to Mr. Webster; but still this supposition would carry the angle at least fifty miles too far west. Mr. Hale, in a

* See *Westminster Review* for June, 1840.

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paper published in the *American Almanac* for 1840, written with ability and remarkable clearness, has taken the ground, that the true angle is a few miles north of the St. John, near the sources of the Ristagouche. He thinks our negotiators have erred in adhering so strenuously to the summit of the northern highlands. This angle corresponds exactly with that of Mr. Buller, although the inferences drawn by these two writers, in regard to the boundary, are essentially different.

What shall we say to this singular discordance of opinion, not only between the parties, but between the supporters of each party, respecting this vital element of the controversy? Can we say any thing else, than that there is an impenetrable obscurity in the thing itself, and that the words of the treaty do not admit of that clear and satisfactory interpretation which some have imagined? If we look a little further, and glance at another cardinal point, the position of the highlands, our embarrassment will not be relieved. The treaty defines these highlands as dividing waters which "empty themselves into the St. Lawrence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean." According to the American construction, the only chain of highlands answering to this description is the one north of the St. John, and between that river and the St. Lawrence. The British contend, on the contrary, that the St. John falls into the Bay of Fundy, and not into the Atlantic Ocean, as intended by the above words of the treaty; and they cite other parts of the treaty to show, that what the commissioners meant in this place by the Atlantic Ocean was the part of the sea west of the St. Croix. Moreover, from the portion of the highlands, where the Americans fix their angle, the waters flow off in an easterly direction, and empty themselves through the Ristagouche into the Bay of Chaleurs, which, it is said, cannot be designated by the general phrase, Atlantic Ocean; so that the waters at that place are not divided as required by the words of the treaty. Mr. Webster has endeavoured to set aside this objection by a new and forcible argument. He says, that in the construction of treaties, and other instruments of this nature, where there is certainty on one side and doubt on the other, the certainty must rule the doubt. It is certain that the north line must proceed to highlands, from which the waters are thrown into the St. Lawrence.

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It follows, that the streams running the other way must be regarded as flowing into the Atlantic, although in their course they may pass through bays and gulfs. Lord Ashburton replies to this argument, but he does not answer it. He contents himself with citing the opinion of the King of the Netherlands, who looked upon it as *hazardous* to class the Ristagouche with the streams falling into the Atlantic, and his Lordship adds his own opinion, that such an idea would be "most absurd." This blunt phrase was not relished by the Maine Commissioners, and they have taken some pains to turn the tables upon his Lordship, by confronting his assertions with additional arguments. Mr. Hale removes this obstacle, by assuming the angle to be at the source of the Ristagouche, as we have seen, and then running a line along the highlands which separate the waters of that river from those of the St. John, till it reaches the Canadian highlands at a point considerably farther west than the angle claimed by the American negotiators. The objection to this line is, that it supposes the Ristagouche to be among the rivers falling into the St. Lawrence, in the sense of the treaty, which is more *hazardous*, as it seems to us, than to class it with the streams that empty themselves into the Atlantic Ocean.

These difficulties, according to the British view of the subject, render it impossible to explain the treaty by seeking for the boundary to the north of the valley of the St. John, and yet, since highlands are expressly mentioned, and more than once, they must be found somewhere. The southern range is selected as the only one that remains, and the hard task is undertaken of making it conform to the language of the treaty. Between the sources of the Connecticut and the St. John the case is clear enough. Here a mountain range divides the waters of the St. Lawrence from those running into the Atlantic. But, from the head of the St. John to Mars Hill, a distance of more than a hundred miles, although they flow into the Atlantic on one side, yet, on the other, they empty themselves into the St. John, and not into the St. Lawrence, as they ought to do, if we keep to the words of the treaty. We are to be reconciled to this apparent contradiction by the forced inference, that the framers of the treaty meant their description to apply to the principal range west of the basin of the St. John, and that this

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southern chain is a continuation of the other, and necessarily included as a part of the whole. If we are still dissatisfied, we are brought at once to the last resort; namely, that the treaty cannot be executed by any intelligible or practicable rules of interpretation.

Such is a brief state of the controversy as to the two principal points, the northwest angle and the highlands, upon which all the other points depend. Without taking a step in the inquiry, whether the negotiators of the treaty of 1783 really understood the boundary they described, or the meaning of their own language, whether they had in view the old colonial boundary, or intended a new line, the question may emphatically be asked, whether, at the stage at which the discussion had arrived through this maze of conflicting opinions and contradictory arguments, it was possible for the parties ever to agree upon any construction of the treaty, with a rigid adherence to the claim of right, or for an arbitrator to come to any decision, on the grounds of the treaty, aided by all the lights with which he could be furnished. The answer is most conclusively in the negative. A compromise, with the aim of conciliation, afforded the only hope of an amicable, or even a practicable, arrangement. Nor could there have been the least chance for such a compromise, without breaking, at the outset, the toils of the old controversy, throwing aside the treaty, and taking up the subject anew, with the single purpose of establishing a conventional line, suited to the convenience of the parties, if not meeting all their expectations. This was the grave task which engaged the wisdom and skill of the negotiators at Washington, and which they were so fortunate as successfully to execute.

The experiment of one arbitration had failed. The case was referred to the King of the Netherlands; documents and maps were laid before him, and agents were sent from the two countries to afford the necessary explanations. It cannot be doubted, that the arbitrator bestowed all the attention on the subject which its importance demanded, as affecting the peace, honor, and interests of the two nations, which had confided their cause to his charge. After a full inquiry, however, he confessed himself unable to decide the matter in dispute; nevertheless, that he might present a ground of reconciliation, he proposed a new boundary line, which he thought would meet the equity of the case. By this line,

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the disputed territory was so divided as to assign nearly two thirds of it to Maine, and the remainder to Great Britain. Mr. Preble, the American minister appointed to superintend the business of the arbitration, immediately entered a protest against this award, because the arbitrator had transcended his powers, by which he was authorized and requested only to determine the true line of the treaty, and not to make a new one. The legislature of Maine sustained this protest, and refused to accept the award. It was likewise rejected by the Senate of the United States, although President Jackson was in favor of its being received; and he was so much inclined to an adjustment on this basis, that he proposed a provisional arrangement, by which the United States should grant a million of acres of western lands to Maine, as an indemnity for the part of the disputed territory assigned to Great Britain. This proposal was rejected; and here we must acquit the legislature of Maine of the suspicion of being influenced by pecuniary motives, since the lands thus offered, at the minimum price of sales, were worth a million and a quarter of dollars, an amount far beyond any value that could possibly be attached to the portion of territory they were solicited to relinquish. Great Britain acquiesced in the decision of the King of the Netherlands, but, as the United States declined to yield their assent, the two countries were thrown back to the position in which they stood before the reference.

The history of subsequent events needs not be narrated. Whilst the governments were deliberating, and repeating their arguments, the borderers resorted to arms, and a feverish excitement was beginning to pervade the public mind, portending future discords and troubles. Every day afforded additional proofs, that a speedy settlement of the dispute was of the utmost importance to the two countries. Some progress was made towards maturing a plan for a new arbitration. At this juncture, the British government, in an honorable and praiseworthy spirit of conciliation, appointed a special minister to proceed to the United States, with powers to adjust all the questions of boundary on such terms as should give mutual satisfaction. It is needless to say, that this advance was met by the government of the United States in the same spirit. The choice of the minister was judicious and fortunate. The name and character of Lord

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Ashburton were known in this country, and were such as not only to inspire public confidence, but to raise a general and strong hope, that his mission of amity and peace would not prove abortive. And no American could for a moment distrust the ability, knowledge, and patriotism of Mr. Webster, or doubt what course he would pursue in whatever concerned the dignity and rights of his country. It was, therefore, a matter of universal congratulation, that the affair, so weighty in itself, and so momentous in its consequences, had fallen into the hands of these negotiators. We shall now attempt a brief sketch of their proceedings.

In his first communication, Lord Ashburton proposed not to renew the "interminable discussion," as he called it, on general grounds, but to come directly to the matter in hand; to which Mr. Webster acceded. Yet his Lordship could not refrain from deviating so far from the course he had prescribed, as to touch upon this discussion in a manner, that called out a reply from Mr. Webster, and tempted the Maine Commissioners to open upon his Lordship the whole battery of the old controversy. By a wise forbearance, however, there was a lucky escape from this snare. Some degree of sensitiveness is observable, also, on both sides, as to the light in which the concessions they were about to make should be regarded. They seem strenuous to have it appear, that they are not to be understood as conceding any thing, that their claims are indisputable, and that whatever each may grant to the other must be taken as a voluntary sacrifice to the desire of conciliation. We remember a similar show of sensitiveness in the negotiation of the treaty of 1783. The British ministry were extremely reluctant to frame the treaty in such a form, that independence should seem to be conceded to the United States without an equivalent; as if it were something in their possession, which they were about to bargain away. They would exchange it as the price of peace. The Americans claimed it as their right. Hence many of the difficulties and the long delays attending the preliminaries of that negotiation. In the present instance, we perceive symptoms of a similar feeling. Perhaps it is natural; and yet, it looks more like a shadow than a substance, especially when the object is conciliation on the basis of a compromise.

No essential embarrassments, however, were interposed

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by these considerations. Lord Ashburton first suggested a boundary line, which should run due north from the St. Croix to the St. John, and thence along that river to some one of its sources; with the exception of the Madawaska settlements, situate on both sides of the river; and here he required the line to be drawn so far south as to include all these settlements within the British possessions. He is sentimental on this point, and seems almost to make it a *sine qua non*. "There would be evident hardship, I might say cruelty," he observes, "in separating this now happy and contented village. I cannot in any case abandon the obvious interests of these people." Moreover, they had "lately sent a petition to the Queen," imploring her Majesty's protection, and deprecating the hard fate of being surrendered to the United States. His Lordship does not inform us, at whose instance the petition was procured. One would think these poor people were to be consigned over to Turkey or Morocco, or forced under the dominion of barbarians. The Commissioners of Maine, callous to this pathetic appeal, put the question at rest, by declaring, in positive terms, that they would not in any event agree to bring the line at this place south of the St. John. Mr. Webster was equally decided. Making all due allowance for his Lordship's sympathies, he could not admit, "as far as political relations are concerned," that there was any *cruelty* in the case. In fact, these sympathies were of recent origin. By the award of the King of the Netherlands, the line was to separate these settlements; and yet the British government acceded to that award without making any reservation to soften the hardship of the settlers, who would be so unfortunate as to fall under the jurisdiction of the United States. As a part of his first proposition, also, the British negotiator said he was prepared to concede the right of navigating the St. John.

After this primary stage of the negotiation, we learn little of the details. The business was transacted chiefly by conferences, the particulars of which are presumed not to have been recorded. The principles, reasons, and results, are sufficiently explained by the treaty itself, and by the published documents. The northeastern boundary, as finally agreed upon, proceeds in a due north line from the monument to the river St. John, thence up that river to the mouth of the St. Francis, and along the St. Francis to its outlet from the

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Lake Pohenagamook. It then turns southwesterly, and runs mostly in a straight line, in a direction nearly parallel with the St. John, to the Matjarmette portage between the head waters of the Penobscot and Chaudière rivers, and from that place along the crest of the highlands to the Connecticut River. As a territorial division, this line is more favorable to Great Britain, than that designated by the King of the Netherlands, since it leaves on the British side, at the foot of the highlands west of the St. Francis, somewhat over half a million of acres more than was assigned by the award. It is estimated, however, that the portion south of the present dividing line, and within the limits of Maine, is, in value, at least four fifths of the whole. The lands north of the St. John are sterile, little fitted for cultivation, and almost destitute of lumber; whereas the territory at the south, particularly the valley of the Aroostook, is rich and fertile, and covered with a heavy growth of good timber. This consideration, however, is of small moment, compared with the national interests involved in the question; and, although Lord Ashburton puts it in as a makeweight, it evidently went but little way towards reconciling the Commissioners of Maine to the new dividing line. A right in perpetuity to the navigation of the St. John for all the products of the forest and of agriculture, with precisely the same privileges that are allowed to similar products in New Brunswick, may of itself be regarded as an equivalent for the barren lands ceded on the north of that river. And in this equivalent Massachusetts participates, for the lands owned by that State within the territory will be increased in value by having this outlet for their products.

Such is the bearing of this part of the treaty on the States most intimately concerned. Let us follow it farther in its application to the United States. By the treaty of 1783, the boundary line was to run to the "northwesternmost head" of the Connecticut River, down that river to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, and along that parallel of latitude to the River St. Lawrence. There was a dispute as to which branch of the Connecticut was intended, the British claiming the main branch, and the Americans one farther west, called "Hall's Stream." The space between them contained a tract of one hundred thousand acres. Again,

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the parallel of forty-five degrees was the old boundary of Canada, which had been surveyed before the Revolution. By more recent surveys, it was ascertained that this line was erroneous, and that the true line coincided with it only at one point near the St. Lawrence, and then diverged southerly through its whole course to the Connecticut River, where the distance between them was three quarters of a mile, thus cutting off a triangular strip from New York and Vermont, including Rouse's Point near the north end of Lake Champlain. This point had been selected by the American government as a military post of great importance, on account of its commanding the entrance into the lake from the River Richelieu ; and, at the close of the last war, a fortification was erected there at a heavy expense to the nation.

In the reference to the King of the Netherlands, three distinct points were submitted to his arbitration. First, the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, and the highlands mentioned in the treaty ; secondly, the northwesternmost head of the Connecticut River ; thirdly, the line which should be adopted as the parallel of forty-five degrees. We have seen how he disposed of the first. The two others he decided in favor of Great Britain, cutting off one hundred thousand acres of land from New Hampshire, and, according to an estimate by Mr. Benton, about forty thousand from Vermont and New York ; or fifty-seven thousand as estimated by Mr. Choate ; reserving Rouse's Point, however, and a small tract around it, to the United States. As the award was not accepted, the dispute still existed, and the British claim to the triangular strip, and to Rouse's Point, with the fortification standing upon it, was demonstrable. To bring the boundary down from the mountain ridge into the sterile region between the St. Francis and the head waters of the St. John, with the view, no doubt, of pushing it as far as he could from Quebec, Lord Ashburton consented to cede the triangular strip, and relinquish the claim to the disputed tract at the head of the Connecticut. This was proposed on condition that Maine should acquiesce in the boundary throughout, as it has already been described. And here we have the equivalent for the three hundred thousand dollars paid by the United States to Maine and Massachusetts, as an indemnity for the half million of acres given up at the foot of the highlands.

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This acquisition, on the north of New York and Vermont, is of very great value to the nation. Incidentally those two States are gainers by it; and the people, inhabiting the land in question, are retained within their country. But the possession of Rouse's Point is of a vastly higher consideration. In the opinion of all military men, this post is more important than any other on the whole line of the frontier. The history of the wars in America, during the last century, teems with memorable events that occurred on the waters and the borders of Lake Champlain. It is true enough, that Great Britain will never invade the United States from Canada for the purpose of conquest, but, with Rouse's Point at her command, her armed vessels would at all times have access to Lake Champlain, and in a few hours an army might be transported into the very heart of the country, and within two days' march of Albany. Hence, in the event of a war, it would be necessary to keep a large military force constantly in that neighbourhood for defence, at a charge, for a single campaign, much beyond the amount paid by the nation to our own citizens as an equivalent in adjusting the late disputes. The acquisition of this military post, therefore, viewed prospectively, cannot fail to strike every thinking mind as most valuable and important.

The negotiation did not stop here. The boundary, running through the rivers and lakes beyond the point where it meets the St. Lawrence, had been partly arranged by the commissioners acting under the treaty of Ghent, to the mutual satisfaction of the two governments. Upon a few important points they could not agree, and these were left unsettled. Islands, and channels, and a territory of four millions of acres northwest of Lake Superior, were still in dispute. The negotiators undertook a revision of the whole line, with the aim of permanently adjusting it throughout, and of putting it beyond the hazard of further controversy. In regard to this part of the negotiation, Mr. Rives, in his speech before the Senate, justly remarks, that "a question of disputed boundary between adjacent territories, now rapidly filling up with a hardy and enterprising population, is attended with constant danger to the peace of the two nations. The acts of ill-advised individuals, of small detachments of troops, or of subordinate local authorities, may at any moment bring on a conflict, in which the two countries would

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be committed to the stern issues of war, against their own deliberate policy and will." If we consider the long extent of this line, therefore, the proximity of the inhabitants in many places on the two sides of it, and their constantly increasing numbers, this adjustment will appear by no means the least important part of the treaty. A valuable island, called St. George's, or Sugar Island, in the water communication connecting Lake Huron with Lake Superior, said to contain more than twenty-five thousand acres of fertile land, and also Isle Royal, near the northern extremity of Lake Superior, both of which were claimed by the British commissioner, have been confirmed to the United States ; as likewise the disputed tract of four millions of acres beyond the lake, a rocky and barren region, reputed to be of no great value for agriculture, but from which the President, in his message to the Senate, anticipates considerable benefit as a mining district. Again, by the treaty of 1783, the line was to run through the middle of the rivers and lakes. This naturally left the only navigable channel in several places on one side, and no provision was made for the common use of these waters. Serious inconveniences and altercations might, therefore, happen, if either party should practically insist on its title of right. To prevent such consequences, remove all occasions of discord, and encourage mutual harmony and good feeling among the borderers, these channels are now thrown open to the free navigation of the citizens and subjects of both countries.

From the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains the boundary had already been decided. We thus have a complete boundary throughout our eastern and northern borders, well defined, after a long series of careful and accurate surveys, extending more than three thousand miles from the St. Croix to the Rocky Mountains, satisfactory to both parties, and established by the solemn pledges of a treaty. If the negotiators at Washington had accomplished no other achievement than this, it would be enough to secure to them the unqualified praise and lasting gratitude of their countrymen.

We shall now touch upon a subject, which demands notice not so much on account of its intrinsic importance at present, as because it has been made a prolific theme of discussion since the treaty was ratified. We mean the unattrac-

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tive controversy about maps. It would seem, that, while the treaty was before the Senate for the action of that body, the Secretary of State communicated to Mr. Rives, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, the copy of a letter from Dr. Franklin to Count de Vergennes, with the copy of a map, the originals of both of which had been seen by Mr. Sparks in one of the public offices in Paris; and also an extract from a letter which he had written on the subject to the Secretary of State. These papers were considered of sufficient consequence to be produced in the Senate during the debate on the treaty. The following is the extract from Mr. Sparks's letter, (dated February 15th, 1842,) as published in Mr. Rives's speech.

"While pursuing my researches among the voluminous papers relating to the American Revolution in the *Archives des Affaires Étrangères* in Paris, I found in one of the bound volumes an original letter from Dr. Franklin to Count de Vergennes, of which the following is an exact transcript.

'Passy, December 6th, 1782.

'SIR; I have the honor of returning herewith the map your Excellency sent me yesterday. I have marked with a strong red line, according to your desire, the limits of the United States, as settled in the preliminaries between the British and American plenipotentiaries.

'With great respect, I am, &c.

'B. FRANKLIN.'

"This letter was written six days after the preliminaries were signed; and, if we could procure the identical map mentioned by Franklin, it would seem to afford conclusive evidence as to the meaning affixed by the commissioners to the language of the treaty on the subject of the boundaries. You may well suppose that I lost no time in making inquiry for the map, not doubting that it would confirm all my previous opinions respecting the validity of our claim. In the geographical department of the Archives are sixty thousand maps and charts; but so well arranged with catalogues and indexes, that any one of them may be easily found. After a little research in the American division, with the aid of the keeper, I came upon a map of North America, by D'Anville, dated 1746, in size about eighteen inches square, on which was drawn a *strong red line* throughout the entire boundary of the United States, answering precisely to Franklin's description. The line is bold and distinct in every part, made with red ink, and apparently drawn with a hair-

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pencil, or a pen with a blunt point. There is no other coloring on any part of the map.

"Imagine my surprise on discovering that this line runs wholly south of the St. John, and between the head waters of that river and those of the Penobscot and Kennebec. In short, it is exactly the line now contended for by Great Britain, except that it concedes more than is claimed. The north line, after departing from the source of the St. Croix, instead of proceeding to Mars Hill, stops far short of that point, and turns off to the west, so as to leave on the British side all the streams which flow into the St. John, between the source of the St. Croix and Mars Hill. It is evident, that the line, from the St. Croix to the Canadian highlands, is intended to exclude *all the waters* running into the St. John.

"There is no positive proof that this map is actually the one marked by Franklin; yet, upon any other supposition, it would be difficult to explain the circumstances of its agreeing so perfectly with his description, and of its being preserved in the place where it would naturally be deposited by Count de Vergennes. I also found another map in the Archives, on which the same boundary was traced in a dotted red line with a pen, apparently copied from the other.

"I enclose herewith a map of Maine, on which I have drawn a strong black line, corresponding with the red one above mentioned."

Mr. Rives then remarks, "I am far from intimating that the documents discovered by Mr. Sparks, curious and well worthy of consideration as they undoubtedly are, are of weight sufficient to shake the title of the United States, founded on the positive language of the treaty of peace. But they could not fail, in the event of another reference, to give increased confidence and emphasis to the pretensions of Great Britain, and to exert a corresponding influence upon the mind of the arbiter." While Mr. Rives was still speaking, another map was brought forward by Mr. Benton, the senator from Missouri, with the view, as Mr. Rives understood it, of confronting and invalidating the map alluded to in the above extract, but, as Mr. Benton afterwards said, for the purpose of showing that the red lines were no secret. Be this as it may, the map turned out to be of such a character as to excite some degree of surprise in the Senate. After describing it in general terms, Mr. Rives adds,

"Here, then, is a most remarkable and unforeseen confirmation of the map of Mr. Sparks, and by another map of a most

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imposing character, and bearing every mark of high authenticity. It was printed and published in Paris in 1784, (the year after the conclusion of the peace,) by Lattré, *graveur du Roi*, (engraver of maps, &c., to the King.) It is formally entitled, on its face, a 'Map of the United States of America, *according to the Treaty of Peace of* 1783.'—(*Carte des États Unis de l'Amérique, suivant le traité de paix de* 1783.) It is 'dedicated and presented' (*dediée et presentée*) 'to his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, near the court of France,' and while Dr. Franklin yet remained in Paris; for he did not return to the United States till the spring of the year 1785. Is there not, then, the most plausible ground to argue, that this map, professing to be one constructed 'according to the Treaty of Peace of 1783,' and being 'dedicated and *presented*' to Dr. Franklin, the leading negotiator who concluded that treaty, and who yet remained in Paris while the map was published, was made out with his knowledge, and by his directions; and that, corresponding as it does *identically* with the map found by Mr. Sparks in the Archives of the Foreign Affairs in Paris, they both partake of the same presumptions in favor of their authenticity?"

The coincidence between these two maps is certainly remarkable; but we would observe, that Mr. Sparks does not intimate that he saw any writing or other marks on the map mentioned by him, except the red boundary line, from which it could be even inferred, that this was the identical map alluded to in Franklin's letter. There is nothing like positive proof, therefore, in the case, though the presumptive evidence is strong. Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Benton, Mr. Woodbury, and other senators, who spoke against the treaty, made light of this map, as the tenor of their arguments required, calling it an old map, and a French map, adding, that on all the old French maps the southern boundary of Canada is pushed too far down. But we are authorized to say, that this red line has no connexion whatever with any old boundary of Canada; that it is a line drawn by hand with remarkable distinctness and precision, not upon an engraved line, and not merely along the highlands south of the St. John, but throughout the entire circuit of the United States, in exact conformity with the treaty, even running out to sea, and pursuing its direction, at the adjudged distance of twenty leagues, parallel with the coast, from the mouth of the St. Mary to that of the St. Croix. There is another circum-

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stance, also, which shows the care with which this red line was drawn. On D'Anville's map, the latitude of forty-five degrees runs much too far south, coming down in fact almost to Crown Point. Now the red line, after descending the Connecticut River for some distance, turns off to the west before it reaches the latitude of forty-five degrees on the map, and proceeds in a direct course to the St. Lawrence, so as to pass near the head of Lake Champlain, which is the true position. This is a proof, that the person who drew the line knew the geography of that part of the country, saw the error of the map, and corrected it.

As to Lattré's map, described by Mr. Rives, there is no certainty of its having been seen by Dr. Franklin before its publication. It is probable, and that is all. As far as this probability goes, it may strengthen the presumption, that the map in the Archives is the one sent by Franklin to Count de Vergennes. In each case, we have no more than presumptive testimony. The fact, that such maps exist, however, of so early a date, is a consideration of some moment.

There are other maps of a similar character, which could not have originated in the same source. A revised edition of De Lisle's Map of Canada, published in Paris in the year 1783, purports to exhibit the northern boundary of the United States. The title of this map boasts of its having been corrected and improved from many printed and manuscript materials (*un grand nombre de relations imprimées ou manuscrites*). The boundary line, from the source of the St. Croix to the Canadian highlands, is drawn south of the St. John, and in such a manner as to exclude all the waters of that river from the territory of the United States. It is a dotted line, engraved, and distinctly marked by a red border on the British side, and a green one on the American, running in contact with each other. After arriving at the highlands near the head waters of the St. John, this line takes a devious course, winding its way into Canada as far as the River St. François, and thence in a southeasterly direction to Lake Champlain, which it crosses a full degree too far south. In all this part it is extremely inaccurate, and could not have depended on any information derived from Franklin, although he was then in Paris. By what authority the line was made to run south of the St. John can only be conjectured.

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There is, likewise, a copy of Mitchell's map, which formerly belonged to Baron Steuben, but which, we believe, is now in the possession of the government. On this map, the *boundary of the United States is delineated, throughout, by* a broad and bold red mark, drawn by hand, and it runs south of the St. John ; made with less precision, indeed, than the line on the map in the Paris archives, but it is substantially the same. A gentleman now living saw this map fifty years ago in the library of Baron Steuben, with the red line then existing as it now appears. It could not have been copied from either of the French maps mentioned above, for, in such case, the part of the line in question would have been executed with more exactness.

We have before us a curious German map of the United States, by Güssefeld, ("Charte über die XIII. Vereinigte Staaten von Nord-America,") published at Nuremberg, in 1784, in which the boundary is very distinctly drawn, and follows the highlands south of the St. John. The author says, in a French note engraved on the margin, that he had constructed it from the best English maps (*d'après les meilleures et speciales cartes Anglaises*). This was the year after the ratification of the treaty, and it is the more remarkable, as we believe no English map has been found, of an earlier date than 1785, in which the boundary does not run on the northern highlands, as claimed by the United States. The line in question could hardly have been copied from Lattré's map, because, although it is in all essential points the same, it is by no means identical with it.

Faden's map, of 1785, is the earliest English authority of this kind, as far as our knowledge extends, which has been produced in vindication of the British claim. On this map, the boundary runs south of the St. John. A copy of it, brought over by Lord Ashburton, was exhibited for the edification of the Maine Commissioners. They seem neither to have been captivated with its charms, nor convinced by its red or black lines. They call it a "small one, and of small pretensions," and allow themselves to utter a hard insinuation against the motives of its author, the King's Geographer. But this is not much to the purpose, since the line is there notwithstanding, and is acknowledged to have been put there when the map was made.

Mr. Featherstonhaugh, in his recent pamphlet on the

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Treaty of Washington, lets us into the secret of another "ancient map discovered in one of the public offices in London, after the departure of Lord Ashburton, which had been apparently hid away for nearly sixty years, with a *red line* drawn upon it exactly conforming to the British claim." He says, "No doubt was entertained, that this was one of the maps used by the negotiators of 1783, and that the *red line* marked upon it designated the direction of the boundary they had established. But this map was not signed, *and could not be authenticated.*" We are left to infer, that this was the reason why it was not sent over to Lord Ashburton, to aid him in the negotiation.

Such is the testimony of maps on one side. We now turn to the other. In the first place, there were at least four distinct maps of the United States, expressly designed to show the boundaries, published in London during the interval between the signing of the preliminaries and the ratification of the treaty by Great Britain. These were Sayer and Bennet's, Bew's, Willis's, and Cary's. All these maps exhibit the boundaries exactly as claimed by the United States. The first two were issued a few days before the debate in Parliament on the preliminary articles, and it cannot be doubted that they were known to the members, and understood by them as presenting an accurate delineation of the boundaries. Not a word to the contrary appears in any one of the speeches, although the large extent of the boundaries was made a topic of severe comment by some of the opposition members.

But a map worthy of more consideration, perhaps, than either of these, is that published in London in the year 1783, by the same William Faden, who, two years afterwards, perpetrated the act of sending into the world the "small map" to which the Commissioners of Maine took such exceptions. His first map, of which we are now speaking, is stated on the face of it to be drawn "*according to the treaty*"; the engraved and colored lines are designed for this special object. It was probably published before the signature of the definitive treaty, or at least soon afterwards, for that event took place in September of the same year. It is about two feet square, and the boundaries marked on it correspond with the greatest exactness to the American construction of the treaty. As a proof that the attention of the delineator was drawn particularly to the northeastern boundary, we have

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only to cite the following printed note, attached, among others, to the margin of the map ; " The Province of Sagadahock is a *new concession.*" The tract intended by this " new concession " is colored green, and stretches across the basin of the St. John to the ridge of the Canadian highlands. There are many other notes on the margin, explaining the boundary in different places, all tending to show that the work was executed with extreme care. And perhaps no man in England was more competent to such a task. He was eminent in his profession, and had engraved nearly all the maps and plans, published by authority, illustrative of the movements of the British army during the war of the Revolution. He could not, therefore, be ignorant of American geography. He even takes the trouble to exhibit an estimate, in figures, of the extent of territory conceded in various parts to the United States by the treaty, beyond what belonged to the Colonies under the old charters. Putting all these circumstances together, we are bound to regard this map as conclusive evidence of the state of opinion on the subject at that time in England, among those who were the most capable of forming a correct judgment.

Besides the maps here enumerated, Mr. Gallatin speaks of seven others, made within two years after the signature of the preliminary articles, all of which agree with these five ; and, as we have before observed, no map published in England within the same period has been produced, which gives countenance to any other line of boundary. We deem these facts the more weighty, as Mr. Oswald, the British Commissioner for negotiating the treaty, was in London when the earliest maps were made ; and there is the strongest probability that he was consulted by the map-makers on a subject of this nature ; quite as strong as that Dr. Franklin was consulted for the same purpose in Paris ; or, at all events, that Mr. Oswald would take care, by some public manifestation, to correct errors of so grave an aspect derived from a false construction of the treaty. Nor would these errors, if they were such, have been overlooked by the ministers, who were vehemently assailed on account of the large concession of boundaries. We hear of no such correction from any quarter, nor of any assertion or insinuation, that the maps were erroneous.

When we descend to later dates, we still find English

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maps, of the highest authority, containing the same boundary, notwithstanding the example of Faden's second effort. And these are even copied by some of the best French maps, in defiance of Lattré and the amended edition of De Lisle. In the *Atlas Universel*, by Robert, published at Paris in 1757, there is a map of Canada, on which the northern and eastern boundary of New England is laid down as since claimed by the United States under the treaty of 1783. Some time after the negotiation of that treaty, a new edition of the Atlas was published, with additions and alterations; but the boundary line in question remains the same, although the editor, under the head of *Limites des États Unis*, quotes the second article of the Treaty, which relates to the boundaries, and implies that he considered no change of the first edition of the map necessary, in order to meet the terms of that instrument. On our table lie three maps of the United States by Tardieu, published at different times in Paris, one of them on a large scale, on each of which the boundary is drawn as claimed by the United States, with a slight deviation in one part. The north and south line, after crossing the St. John, and reaching the source of the Ristagouche, turns a little to the west, and seeks its way to the Canadian highlands, so as to avoid the head waters of that river. This is in exact accordance with Mr. Hale's line, and with Mr. Buller's northwest angle. We have also before us an elegantly executed German map of the United States, by Reichard, belonging to the Ebeling Collection in Harvard College, published at Nuremberg in 1809, which gives the boundary exactly as claimed by the Americans. And, indeed, innumerable testimonies might be accumulated to show, that such has been the general sense of European geographers, as well on the continent as in England.

We shall here dismiss this subject of the conflict of maps. It has run to a greater length than we intended. We confess it is extraordinary, nor shall we venture upon the hopeless task of explaining or reconciling its difficulties, or of bringing light out of darkness. As far as it goes, however, the weight of the argument from this source preponderates heavily on the American side; immeasurably so, if we estimate it by the number of maps; but less so, it may be conceded, if the relative authority of the principal ones only be regarded. We must hold to the conviction, nevertheless,

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that Mr. Oswald, or the British ministers, or both, were consulted in the execution of the first English maps. The presumption is so strong, that nothing short of absolute demonstration to the contrary can weaken this belief. We allow it is probable, and nothing more, that Franklin was consulted for a similar object in Paris. An idea has been thrown out, on the supposition of the red line on D'Anville's map having been drawn by Franklin, that he was mistaken. This is an easy way of solving the problem, if the fact could be proved. If this red line rested on Franklin's authority alone, such an idea might possibly be more than a shadow. As we have only probabilities in the case, it is, in our opinion, much more probable that he did not draw the line, than that he should not understand the treaty, six days after it was signed, which he had been as many months in negotiating. But what shall we do with the four maps, emanating from different sources, of which it is not pretended that Franklin had any knowledge? These are all separate authorities, and they accord with the supposed Franklinian red line. Besides, why should we conjecture Franklin to have been mistaken, any more than Mr. Oswald, or the British ministers, or the English map-makers? Since we must admit an error on one side or the other, and admit, also, that we know nothing more about it, let us do justice to both parties, and at least allow them the grace of dividing the mistake between themselves, until we can place it on the right shoulders by some clear and indisputable evidence. It is a matter of serious regret, that the opinions of Mr. John Adams and Mr. Jay, in regard to this boundary dispute, were never publicly expressed. The former lived twelve years, and the latter fifteen, after the Treaty of Ghent, and yet nothing has been communicated to the world, from which their sentiments can be known or even inferred. This silence is the more remarkable, as they had given their testimony in the case of the St. Croix; and, if similar testimony had been proffered in relation to the northeastern boundary, it could hardly have failed to produce a speedy settlement of the question. Until the opinions of these commissioners can be ascertained, from undoubted authority, it is neither just nor reasonable to throw the burden of error upon Dr. Franklin.

In escaping from this labyrinth of conflicting maps, we shall remark only, that it affords another proof of the wisdom of the course adopted by the negotiators, in setting aside the

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old controversy, and seeking a new arrangement upon the untried and pacific principles of a compromise.

We have a word to say on the topic, to which public attention has been called since the ratification of the treaty. Some of the English and Canadian journals, in language which it would not adorn our pages to repeat, and which we are by no means in a humor to retort, have censured the American negotiator for withholding from Lord Ashburton a knowledge of Franklin's letter and the map seen by Mr. Sparks in the Paris Archives. What foundation can there be, on the grounds of equity, reason, or courtesy, for this censure? It was neither agreed nor understood by the negotiators, that each should show to the other all the materials in his possession. What could have been more unwise or indiscreet than such a proceeding? It would have plunged them at once into the Serbonian bog of the old controversy, from which they might never extricate themselves, and which they were taking all possible pains to shun. With this "gulf profound" before his eyes, Lord Ashburton very prudently kept back the "volume of additional matter" which he had brought with him, although he did venture to produce a map in favor of his own side. Even this experiment was somewhat perilous, for it roused the belligerent spirit, instead of cooling the ardent zeal, of the Maine Commissioners. Besides, this Paris map was unauthenticated; and, for this reason, if for no other, it could not have been formally introduced into the negotiation. The same reason operated against transmitting to Lord Ashburton the map discovered in the British offices after his departure. If this map could not be considered as valid testimony, why should another of precisely the same character? It is possible, nay, highly probable, that there are papers and maps in the British offices favorable to the American claim; but no one ever dreamed that Lord Ashburton was bound to produce such materials, even if they were among the contents of his portfolio.

Again, suppose the disclosure to have been made, and Lord Ashburton to have attached the importance to the Paris map and letter, which some persons have since imagined them to deserve. Could he have negotiated at all? Must he not have said, that these were new facts, unknown to the ministers at the time his instructions were given, and that his duty required him not to proceed without communicating them for consideration? And if the ministry had viewed

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them as of sufficient weight to add an essential advantage to the British claim, would they or could they have authorized a treaty on the basis of their first instructions? We ask these questions on the supposition, that the knowledge should have been deemed important. If it were not so deemed, it was of no moment whether it was communicated or not. All the world knows, that a treaty more favorable to England could not, in any event, have been obtained. In the treaty, as it now stands, the Commissioners of Maine, with all the facts before them, were brought to acquiesce with a reluctance amounting almost to a refusal. Their last note to Mr. Webster, in which their final decision was to be embodied, is an argument against the treaty; and the reader is taken by an agreeable surprise to find their assent in a short paragraph at the end, apparently at variance with their own convictions. It would seem, as if they had determined at first to reject the treaty, although they were informed that it was the best they could hope to procure, and had drawn up their paper accordingly; but, changing their minds afterwards, and unwilling to lose so good an argument, they concluded to yield their assent, coupled as it was with their reasons to the contrary. However this may be, it is perfectly certain that any arrangement less favorable to Maine would not have been listened to for a moment by the Commissioners or the people of that State. If Mr. Webster had taken a course, therefore, which should have aided and strengthened the British claim, and raised higher the demands of the British government, besides the absurdity of such a step, the treaty must inevitably have failed. And what would have been said of such a result, brought about in such a manner? Would not the whole world have cried out against it, as the most consummate folly that a wise or weak man, in his senses or out of them, could be guilty of? It was not a private bargain which the American negotiator had to transact. A responsibility of a much more solemn nature rested upon him. He had the opinions, the will, and sensitive feelings of a great people to consult, their rights to maintain, and their interests to protect. Was it ever known, that two negotiators came together, and commenced their work by disclosing, each to the other, a new collection of facts or materials which should weaken his own cause? If it can be conceived, that ambitious motives might tempt them privately to connive at such an act, for the sake of success in their undertaking, would

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they stand justified in the eyes of the government and people of the respective countries, whose claims they were deputed to assert and support? We repeat, it was not a bargain between individuals, in which each party could do as he pleased, and take into view personal considerations only; it was a national trust of the highest character, which was to be fulfilled with strict fidelity to the interests of those who had placed it in the negotiators' charge.

In this sense, and in every sense, Mr. Webster's course was dictated by scrupulous propriety, by usage in similar cases, and by the soundest wisdom and discretion. He laid before the Maine Commissioners all the facts, from which they might understand the true position in which the controversy would be placed, if it were renewed and continued. This disclosure was due to them, as representatives of that portion of the country most deeply concerned in the negotiation. It was due to the nation, as the means of promoting an amicable compromise. Nor can there be any doubt, that the Commissioners of Maine were influenced to a considerable extent by the Paris letter and map; for, whatever might be their real value, since they were open to the discovery of the British government, they might have been used with effect in another arbitration. Mr. Calhoun expressed his conviction, in the Senate, that in such an event they were "calculated to add no small weight to the British claim"; and, if the treaty should fall to the ground, a second reference would be the only resort. To have shown these papers to Lord Ashburton could not possibly have done any good, and it might have done infinite mischief; to show them to the Commissioners of Maine was giving them information which they had a right to possess, and by which they were enabled to act with intelligence for the honor and best interests of their immediate constituents and of their country. The advantage, whatever it might be, of this mode of proceeding was in reality as much on the side of Great Britain as on that of the United States. Lord Ashburton himself, and the British ministry, if they attach any importance to this information, must be thankful that it was withheld from them, and that the hazard of again stirring up and embroiling all the old difficulties, with a worse prospect than ever for the future, was thus happily avoided. A treaty, meeting the approbation of a large majority of both nations, has been negotiated and confirmed; tranquillity has been restored to

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the public mind ; and a breach, which at one time threatened alarming consequences, has been healed and closed for ever. This has been done, in part at least, and perhaps in the turning point, by the admirable judgment of the American negotiator in the use of his materials, without injury to either party, and with incalculable benefits to both.

Again, some of the British journalists, in a spirit of querulous discontent, take exceptions to a part of one of Mr. Webster's letters to Lord Ashburton, because, as they will have it, he expresses a confidence in the validity of the American claim, not consistent with his knowledge of the Paris map. If any one imagines there is the least weight in this charge, we would only recommend to him a perusal of the correspondence. In the able argument, to which we have before alluded, Mr. Webster confines himself to the single point of interpreting the language of the treaty of 1783, and expressly abstains from "all historical facts, contemporaneous expositions, and external circumstances." It is his sole aim to show, by a condensed and logical train of reasoning, founded on the words of the treaty itself, that the most obvious sense of these words clearly supports the American claim. Surely such an argument may be allowed to stand on its own merits, without subjecting its author to censure for not mingling with it the hopeless controversy about maps, or encumbering it with extraneous facts and conjectures, with neither of which was it in any manner connected.*

We come now to another branch of the treaty, which cannot be more applauded for its object, than for the well-defined and strict rules of reciprocity upon which it is constructed. By the Treaty of Ghent it was declared, that the traffic in slaves is "irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice," and the contracting parties agreed to use their best endeavours to accomplish its abolition. In conformity to this declaration and agreement, a law was passed by Congress denouncing this infamous traffic as piracy, and threatening the penalties of that crime to any citizen of the United States, who should be detected in prosecuting it. The example has been followed by Great

* We have been favored with the perusal of a manuscript paper, written by Mr. Grattan, the British Consul in Boston, in which the argument on the British side of the boundary question is stated with more method, clearness, and force, than we have anywhere seen in print.

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Britain and other countries. Treaties have likewise been entered into between Great Britain and some of the principal maritime powers of Europe, for the purpose of a mutual coöperation in the suppression of the slave trade. By these treaties, the right is conceded to each party of boarding and searching merchant vessels sailing under the flag of the others in the African seas, with the view of ascertaining whether they are concerned in the slave trade, made illegal by the special laws of the respective parties. This is solely a right of compact, and not pretended to be derived from the laws of nations. For reasons, which we have no room here to explain, but which have been abundantly elucidated by our statesmen, the government of the United States declined joining in an arrangement which should subject merchant vessels, bearing the flag of the Union, to be searched and detained in their voyage on the high seas by the armed cruisers of other powers. These reasons were ably enforced more than twenty years ago by Mr. Adams, in his correspondence with Mr. Stratford Canning. As the laws of the United States, however, prohibited the slave trade under the severest penalties, it was desirable and requisite that a public force should be employed on the coast of Africa for this object, as far as it could be done without weakening the naval armaments necessary for protecting our commerce in other parts of the world. In fact, such has been the employment of a portion of the navy for many years. An arrangement with any power, therefore, by which the object should be more speedily and effectually attained, under such regulations as would secure the independence of our flag, could not but be deemed exceedingly important. A stipulation to this effect, between Great Britain and the United States, on the principle of mutual coöperation, constitutes the eighth article of the Treaty of Washington, in the following words.

"The parties mutually stipulate, that each shall prepare, equip, and maintain in service, on the coast of Africa, a sufficient and adequate squadron, or naval force of vessels, of suitable numbers and descriptions, to carry in all not less than eighty guns, to enforce, separately and respectively, the laws, rights, and obligations of each of the two countries, for the suppression of the slave trade; the said squadrons to be independent of each other, but the two governments stipulating, nevertheless, to give

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such orders to the officers commanding their respective forces, as shall enable them most effectually to act in concert and coöperation, upon mutual consultation, as exigencies may arise, for the attainment of the true object of this article; copies of all such orders to be communicated by each government to the other respectively."

These words are so precise and explicit, that it is scarcely possible for two persons to form different ideas of their exact and literal meaning; yet the President of the United States is supposed to have drawn an inference from them, which Sir Robert Peel, as the organ of the British government, has thought proper to disavow. The merits of the question, in all its bearings, we shall not attempt to discuss. A brief outline of its principal features will be enough for the general purpose of explanation.

The British government, in carrying into effect their treaties with other powers, and executing their own laws against the slave trade, assumed the novel right, and adopted the practice, of boarding and searching vessels sailing under the American flag, which were suspected, by the commanders of British cruisers, of being concerned in this traffic. The consequence was, that several American vessels, engaged in lawful commerce, were interrupted and detained on their voyage, and some of them seized and turned over to the British tribunals for adjudication. A proceeding so unjustifiable naturally brought out complaints and remonstrances. These were laid before the British government by Mr. Stevenson, the American minister in London. In the correspondence on this subject, Lord Palmerston, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, advanced doctrines which at first sight presented a startling aspect. He seemed to claim the right for the officers of British armed cruisers, under the instructions of their government, to board and search American vessels on the high seas in time of peace, and to decide whether they were or were not engaged in a lawful trade; although, in his subsequent communications, he modified his expressions in such a way as to imply that the right he meant was that of *visitation*, or of *inquiry*, and not of *search*. Mr. Stevenson, however, could not perceive that his Lordship's distinctions amounted to a difference. The substance and reality of the thing itself is not altered by giving it various names. He insists that "they are essential-

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ly the same," and that the distinction is "wholly fictitious." Mr. Whēaton maintains the same ground in his learned treatise on the right of search, in which he investigates thoroughly and with much discrimination the laws and usages of nations upon these points. Mr. Duponceau defines the difference to be that between "fair lady" and "lady fair," and practically this is not a forced definition. The solid part of the objection is not against the mere act of visiting and searching, but against its purpose and consequences. It may be granted, that going upon a vessel's deck and reading her papers, or summoning the crew, breaking open the hatches, and inspecting the cargo, are not acts in themselves of precisely the same nature; but, if the object, intention, and consequences are the same in each case, we beg to know by what art of logic, or application of names, a real difference can be shown to exist. The visit is intended for something or nothing. If for nothing, it is an obtrusive and useless formality. If otherwise, it cannot be of the least importance, in principle or effect, whether the visiter searches the ship and inspects the cargo, or only examines the papers. It is left entirely to his judgment, after either of these acts, to decide upon the character of the vessel; and cases may occur where the papers are suspicious, in the opinion of the visiting officer, and an inspection of the vessel would prove that all was right. If the visit is necessary at all, a search is much more so, as affording the means of a proper judgment. In every view of the case, it would seem to be a more safe course, and one more likely to prevent mistakes and the consequent mischiefs, to allow the officer the right of search, than to require him to make up his mind upon the bare inspection of papers, and from general appearances. If he is to be the sole judge in so responsible and delicate an affair, as that of seizing and detaining a vessel sailing on the broad ocean under the flag of an independent power, it is certainly desirable that every possible source of knowledge should be open to him. Whatever distinction may be discovered, therefore, by a refined diplomacy, between the meaning of the words *visit* and *search*, it is perfectly obvious that, in their practical application, they are the same thing; or, if there is any difference, it is in favor of search, because it enables the officer to decide with more intelligence and better opportunities of ascertaining the truth. At any rate,

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it is an unwarrantable stretch of sophistry to attempt to hide the deformity of the thing itself under the specious garb of attractive names.

Lord Aberdeen inherited the controversy from his predecessor in office; and he endeavoured to smooth over the harsh features of the claim of right which had been set up; but still he adheres to the claim, and undertakes to justify it upon broad principles. He says, it has been the invariable practice of the British navy "to ascertain by visit the real nationality of merchant vessels met with on the high seas, if there be good reason to apprehend their illegal character." If such has been the practice, it would appear to be a direct violation of the laws of nations, as expounded by one of the highest authorities in the British courts. Lord Stowell asserts, "that no authority can be found, which gives any right of *visitation* or *interruption* over the vessels and navigation of other states, on the high seas, except what the right of war gives to belligerents against neutrals." And such has been the practical interpretation by the British government in cases where their own interests were concerned. About four years ago, a law was passed in Hayti, by which vessels sailing under any flag, whether that of Hayti or of any other country, if found to be trading in slaves, were to be seized and taken into a port of the Republic for adjudication. The British government remonstrated against this law, on the ground, in the words of the official communication, "that, in time of peace, no ships belonging to one state have a right to search and detain ships sailing under the flag of, and belonging to, another state, *without the permission of such state*, which permission is generally signified by treaty." Now this is the identical ground upon which the United States resist the British pretension. We have only to put Great Britain in the place of Hayti, and the cases become exactly the same. But what is the *illegal character* on the high seas, mentioned by Lord Aberdeen, as recognized by all nations? Piracy only; piracy *by the laws of nations*, and not by the municipal laws of any particular country. Because Great Britain has declared the slave trade to be piracy, this declaration gives no right to stop and search the vessels of other nations upon the mere suspicion that they are violating this law. The slave trade is not piracy by the law of nations, nor can it be so till the maritime powers

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shall generally, and by mutual agreement, recognize it as such. Any government may unquestionably instruct its cruisers to detain and examine vessels within its own waters suspected of smuggling. But this is a local right, and not applicable to the high seas. Nor is it the right of search in the case either of piracy or smuggling, which is resisted or questioned by the United States. The British government claims the right of searching vessels sailing under the flag of other nations, not upon the suspicion of piracy or smuggling, but as being engaged in a traffic unauthorized by the municipal laws of Great Britain; and not within her jurisdiction only, but on the high seas; and the argument used for this extraordinary practice is, that it is *necessary* for the execution of her own laws, and not the laws of nations. Such a pretension may well excite alarm; for where will it end? If the plea of necessity will sanction this proceeding for the execution of one set of laws, why not of another, till the ocean becomes the domain of the strongest naval power, over which jurisdiction may be exercised in the same manner as within the acknowledged waters of that power? Nor is this a theoretical discussion about the abstract principles of law; it is a downright practical matter of fact. True enough, the mere act of visit is nothing in substance. It is an insult, and that is all. So a stranger may open your door and look into your house. No harm is done. It is a piece of rudeness, and nothing more. If he enters, and disturbs your family, and breaks your furniture, you may then prosecute him for a trespass, and claim damages, and call in the laws to your aid. You may perhaps procure an *indemnity*, if you have patience enough to endure the vexations of a lawsuit. Is it not better that the conventional rules of society should be observed, and that strangers should not thrust themselves into your house without your consent?

But Lord Aberdeen tells us, "It is not *as American* that such vessels are ever visited." And, again, in the letter to Mr. Fox, he repeats, that Great Britain does not pretend to interfere with vessels of the United States, "*known or believed to be such.*" Let the case stand thus, and what then? The vessels are visited, nevertheless, while under the American flag, *not as pirates or smugglers*, but on *suspicion of violating a British law*, while traversing the broad ocean, where British laws can no more interfere with them than in

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the harbour from which they sailed. Neither the breach of international law, nor the injury, is lessened in the least degree by supposing or believing them to have any other character than that indicated by the flag. When a vessel, engaged in lawful commerce, is visited, detained, and seized, what possible difference can it make to the owner, whether it is seized on suspicion of being one thing or another? Just as well might the commander of an armed cruiser of any nation visit, detain, and seize every English merchantman he should find on the ocean, and then say that the vessel was not visited *as English*, but on suspicion of violating some law of the country to which the cruiser belongs. What consolation can it be to an American trader, engaged in fair commerce, after he has been seized, taken into a British port in Africa, his cargo perishing, his crew falling victims to the climate, his voyage broken up, to be told that he was not seized as *an American*, but on suspicion of being concerned in a traffic not authorized by the laws of England? The British minister adds another consolation. He shall have an *indemnity*. Where will he find it, and when will it come to him? Why should he be subjected to the delays, vexations, and uncertainty of procuring such a relief? Recent examples would afford but poor encouragement to his hopes on this score. Besides, if he were successful, would this soften the outrage, or atone for the abuse, or restore the dignity of a violated flag? No nation, in time of peace, can submit to such an exercise of power by another, whether under the name of a pretended right, or any other name, without sacrificing its independence, and bowing to the will of a superior. Most assuredly it can never be submitted to by the United States; nor acquiesced in, unless by a mutual compact, implying a virtual renunciation, or at least a silent abandonment of the claim *as a matter of right*.

Lord Aberdeen's letter to Mr. Everett is regarded by the British government as the most plausible defence of this pretension, which has been put forth, if we may judge from Sir Robert Peel's speech in Parliament on the "Address." It does not remove the substantial objections, however, nor even diminish their weight. He only polishes a little the stone, which his predecessor had left rough-hewn. And we may further remark, that it was either not very courteous,

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or a strange oversight, or defect of memory, in Sir Robert Peel, to declare and repeat, as he did in Parliament, that this letter had "remained fourteen months unacknowledged and unanswered," with a show of triumph in assuming that it was too much to be grappled with by the American minister in London, and the American Secretary of State. This same boast is likewise made to figure in the official letter to Mr. Fox. From the published correspondence, it appears, that the reception of the letter was acknowledged by Mr. Everett three days after it was written, and that he then gave notice of his intention soon to prepare a more formal answer, from which he was dissuaded by Lord Aberdeen himself, who said Lord Ashburton was furnished with full powers to treat on this question in Washington, and it was therefore unnecessary and inexpedient to discuss it further in London.

The President, in his message to Congress at the beginning of the last session, after alluding to the eighth article of the Treaty, and to his sentiments expressed in a former message against the right of search, proceeds to say; "From this it will be seen, that the ground assumed in the message has been fully maintained, at the same time that the stipulations of the Treaty of Ghent are to be carried out in good faith by the two countries, and that all pretence is removed for interference with our commerce for any purpose whatever by a foreign government." From this passage it has been inferred in England, that the President supposed the pretension to the right of search had been given up by the British government. We doubt if this be a fair inference. It does unquestionably imply a conviction, that the so called right *would not be exercised* on American commerce while the Treaty existed and its stipulations were fulfilled; and we presume this was the sense in which it was generally understood in this country. It would not be easy to assign any motives, on the part of the United States, for entering into such a treaty, if the special duties and service of the American squadron on the coast of Africa were to be interfered with by the British cruisers, any farther than such interference should be mutual, as authorized by the instructions of the two governments, according to the terms of the Treaty. Nothing is said about the abandonment of this darling right by the British government; and while it stands a barren tree, producing no fruit, with however much aversion it

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may be regarded in America, it will hardly be looked upon with an eye of jealousy or apprehension. We cannot help thinking, therefore, that Sir Robert Peel's harangue in Parliament on this subject was gratuitous, and that the formal letter from Lord Aberdeen to Mr. Fox, read with so much apparent solemnity to the Secretary of State, was ill-suited to the occasion. They have naturally excited the suspicion, that the practice of searching American vessels is to continue as before. If such should be the result, we feel convinced it will breed troubles and mischief, and defeat the valuable ends which have been anticipated from this arrangement, founded, as believed in the United States, on the principles of a scrupulous reciprocity and the pledges of a mutual good faith. The plain construction of the Treaty is, that each nation, for the time stipulated, is to execute its own laws against the slave trade on the coast of Africa; that is, as provided in the eleventh article of the Treaty, for five years from the date of exchanging the ratifications, and afterwards, until one or the other of the parties shall signify a wish for the agreement to cease.

That this was the understanding of the American government, at the time of the negotiation, is declared by the President in his message to Congress communicating the correspondence concerning the Treaty. "I regarded the eighth article," he says, "as removing all possible pretext, on the ground of mere necessity, to visit and detain our ships on the African coast because of any alleged abuse of our flag by slave traders of other nations." And, again, "Denying, as we did, all color of right to exercise any such general police over the flag of independent nations, we did not demand of Great Britain any formal renunciation of her pretension; still less had we the idea of yielding any thing ourselves in that respect. We chose to make a practical settlement of the question." Such is the obvious purport of the Treaty itself, "a *practical* settlement of the question," while the Treaty continues at least, by a compact between the two nations to join with each other in executing the laws of each respectively for a common object. No pretension to a theoretical right, on either side, is meddled with; and, we repeat, it is unfortunate, that the British government should at the present time force in this pretension anew, and in a tone and manner by no means calculated to promote the spirit of con-

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ciliation and the good feeling so essential to an effectual execution of the Treaty.

It can scarcely be doubted, however, that some arrangement between the two governments, by which the cruisers of each nation, under proper limitations and restrictions, should be authorized, while the two squadrons are acting together, to ascertain the genuineness of the flag of the other borne by a suspected vessel on the coast of Africa, would facilitate the means adopted for the suppression of the slave trade, which both countries have so much at heart. Any reasonable temporary sacrifice for so desirable an end, consistent with national honor, dignity, and independence, should not be refused. But the recent pretexts and practices of Great Britain, connected with historical incidents of the gravest character, must render any such arrangement extremely difficult, perhaps impracticable. It could only be accomplished by a compact, framed on the basis of entire reciprocity, for a limited and definite time, and with every possible guard against abuse. We say a limited time, for if it were to last "*for ever*," which Lord Aberdeen says is to be the duration of what he calls the "holy alliance" formed by the famous Quintuple Treaty, it may be safely affirmed, that neither the government nor a single individual of the United States would tolerate such an idea for a moment. We hope, indeed, that the slave trade is not to continue for ever.

If Great Britain finds the Americans indocile or intractable in this matter of maritime regulations, she must look for the cause to her past history and conduct. It is not alone the jealousy of the growing magnitude of her naval power, so often suggested by British writers, which has produced the sensitiveness that unquestionably exists in the breast of every citizen of the United States, in relation to this subject. Let her look back to her enormous encroachments upon our neutral commerce during her last European wars, her haughty bearing on the ocean, her blunted sense of justice, and her repeated violation of international laws, and she will see many sober realities, which have not been forgotten, and cannot be forgotten. If she was driven to these extremes in retaliation upon her foes, this may afford a feeble justification to herself, but it cannot obliterate the impressions that were deeply stamped by deliberate and aggravated injuries. To

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treat friends as enemies is not the way to secure their confidence, or subdue their spirit. We have no desire to revive these recollections; we recur to them only as an index to the principal reasons for the cautious reserve of the government and people of the United States in lending an ear to any propositions touching the maritime power of Great Britain. To these causes add the preposterous claim to the allegiance of our adopted citizens, many of whom she has encouraged to leave their native land and seek a better heritage in a foreign country; add, again, the consequent practice of impressment, that barbarous relic of a barbarous age, scarcely less odious and detestable than the slave trade itself; and we shall have reasons enough, without travelling further, for the jealousy of the naval power of England on this side of the Atlantic.

Mr. Webster's able, searching, and eloquent argument against this practice, communicated to Lord Ashburton, embodies opinions universally entertained in America. For the peace and future good understanding between the two countries, these opinions ought not to be overlooked or slightly regarded by the British government and nation. Impressment of seamen, under the flag of the United States, has lighted the torch and kindled up the flames of one war; it will be the immediate cause of another, whenever it shall be repeated. A powder-magazine would not explode more instantaneously at the touch of a living coal, than would the whole people of the United States fly to arms to avenge such an aggression. We hazard nothing in affirming, that this sentiment is universal; it pervades every mind and every heart; and it is too deeply seated to be loosened by theories and precedents drawn from usages in the times of feudal vassalage and regal oppressions. It is a practical, enduring, and inflexible conviction, which time may strengthen, but never change. A writer of certain papers in the *London Morning Chronicle*, on what is there called the "Ashburton Capitulation," reputed to have been a high functionary in the late administration, informs his countrymen in one of those papers, that "The Americans, when it suits their purpose, can invent the strangest doctrines of international law." If the claim to protect their seamen under their country's flag be one of these strange doctrines, it does undoubtedly suit their purpose, and, without taking any merit to themselves for the

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invention, it is the last they will ever cease to support and defend.

We forbear making any further remarks on these fruitful topics of the right of search and impressment, both because our space is limited, and because we propose to recur to them on some future occasion.

The tenth article of the Treaty provides for the delivering up of criminals who escape from justice, upon the requisition of the authorities of the country from which they have fled. The crimes enumerated are murder, assault with the intent to commit murder, piracy, arson, robbery, forgery, and the utterance of forged papers. An arrangement so favorable to the cause of justice cannot but be essentially beneficial to both countries. It does not include political offenders or fugitive slaves. An article in Jay's Treaty contained a similar provision in respect to two crimes only, those of murder and forgery, to continue in force for twelve years. The provision in the present Treaty is to cease whenever either of the parties shall signify a wish to that effect, and not before.

In reviewing the advantages of the Treaty of Washington, immediate and prospective, it is scarcely possible to estimate them too highly, or to bestow extravagant praise on the skill and good management of the negotiators, by whom so fortunate a result has been effected. It is, in fact, a treaty of peace, as well as of compromise. Larger interests have been at stake between nations, more extended objects have been compassed by negotiation, but rarely has a harder knot of difficulties been encountered, or points more perplexing been submitted for adjustment. Under a constitution like that of the American Union, by which each State claims the right of sovereignty over its own soil, no question can be more embarrassing than that involved in a dispute about the boundaries between the individual States and the territory of a foreign power. The disturbing forces of two or more parties are here to be brought to a central action, and into concert with the general government, before that government, the organ of the Union, and the only one recognized by foreign states, can be put in a condition to negotiate. In the present instance, not only Maine and Massachusetts, but New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York, had a negative voice, and each might have interposed,

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if its claims had not been satisfied either by concession or an equivalent. The task of Mr. Webster, therefore, was vastly more formidable than that of his associate, and, view it as we may, it was not one of easy accomplishment under any circumstances. The questions at issue had been a prolific source of irritation for years; they had driven the two countries to the verge of a war; and the settlement of them, not for the present only, but on a basis which prevents their ever being renewed, must surely be regarded by all considerate men as a great and lasting benefit to the nation.

We have only to inquire, whether the gain is adequate to the loss. Has the national honor been preserved? Has any thing been extorted from us? Have improper sacrifices been made? As to the first, we think the most fastidious patriot can have no reason to complain; and, on a point like this, we would have every American fastidious. The advance was made by Great Britain, in the spirit of amity, not in a tone of demand; she complimented us by sending a special minister to negotiate in our own capital; and in the history of the negotiation we find nothing at variance with the spirit thus professed and shown. Our concessions were voluntary; yielded not because they were claimed, but because we believed our interests to be promoted by granting them. Our national honor, therefore, is safe. In regard to the equivalents, they who are the most deeply concerned may be presumed to be the best qualified to form a correct judgment. The Commissioners of Maine accepted the Treaty, and their constituents have acquiesced with great unanimity. The option was allowed them of taking the award of the King of the Netherlands, submitting to a new arbitration, or abiding by the Treaty. In their Report to the Legislature of Maine, they have given good reasons for preferring the last. The other States, whose border rights were blended in the controversy, are satisfied. What more can be asked or desired? Without satisfying all these States, a compromise was out of the question, and no one can imagine that they would assent to an arrangement, which would require or imply a sacrifice of their rights, or unreasonable concessions.

We think it due to Mr. Webster, that all, who would understand and properly estimate the difficulties of the

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negotiation, should turn their attention particularly to the part of it, in which he succeeded in gaining the previous assent of Maine and Massachusetts. This was both a difficult and delicate point. The universal opinion in these States that their claim was just to its fullest extent, the deliberate and repeated acts of the legislatures, amounting almost to a declaration and pledge that this claim would be sustained at all hazards, and the popular feeling in accordance with these acts, presented obstacles not to be overcome without circumspection, address, and judgment. By the exercise of these qualities, with a prudent caution and penetrating foresight, the obstacles were removed, and the end was attained. It was an untried experiment, which would have failed in less skilful and less practised hands. A single false step, a single broken link in the chain of progress, a want of deference to the will or even the prejudices of a sovereign State, an ill-timed reserve, a tone of assurance, or an injudicious use of materials, might at any moment have broken off the negotiation and ruined the Treaty. The wisdom of Mr. Webster's course, throughout, has been proved by its success ; it has in the amplest manner fulfilled the high expectation, which his commanding talents, his character, and his long experience in public life, had taught the country to entertain.

The free navigation of the St. John is a new privilege, ceded in perpetuity to the United States. It operates for the immediate benefit of Maine ; but it has heretofore been deemed of so much importance to the commercial interests of the Union, that the grant of it has more than once been solicited from Great Britain. The lumber and agricultural products, bordering on all the waters of the St. John, are allowed to be transported down that river, without any other duties, or restrictions, than such as are laid on similar products, the growth of New Brunswick. Lord Ashburton says, in one of his notes to Mr. Webster, that these products, when "once at the mouth of the St. John, will have the privilege of reaching the British as well as other markets" ; and the same declaration has since been repeated in Parliament by Lord Stanley, the Minister for the Colonies. It is favorable to this arrangement, that it is by no means adverse to the interests of New Brunswick, and will tend to cement and strengthen, rather than to weaken, the harmony between the people of that Province and of Maine.

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From the constant presence of an American squadron on the coast of Africa, many advantages may be expected, in addition to that of its immediate and highest service for the suppression of the slave trade. According to a recent Report of the Secretary of the Navy, "the lawful commerce of our citizens with all parts of the coast is rapidly increasing, and already employs a very large capital." We regret to learn from the same authority, that, during the past year, no squadron has been on the coast, and that, chiefly in consequence of this want of protection, "several of our vessels have been captured by the natives, and their crews barbarously murdered." This consideration alone is enough to sanction all the provisions of the eighth article of the Treaty, besides the duty, which the nation owes to itself, of redeeming the solemn pledges it has made to the world, by the execution of its laws against a most infamous traffic, which has for centuries afflicted, degraded, and disgraced humanity. To Great Britain, for her noble and unwearied efforts in this sacred cause, and for her generous sacrifices in its behalf, every philanthropist will cheerfully render the homage of unqualified praise. She is suspected of having ulterior aims; of being influenced as much, at least, by motives of aggrandizement, as by a love for an oppressed and benighted race of human beings. Herein we shall not assume the office of judge, content to weigh the motives by the deeds. Let her have credit for the good she has done, and is doing. If time removes a mask, and reveals the deformities of a deceptive and selfish design, of a grasping ambition and aggressive power, let judgment and retribution follow. The aid and countenance which our squadron may incidentally afford to the colonies of American emigrants on the coast of Africa, by protecting and encouraging their trade, are not among the least benefits which may be anticipated from its service. These colonies present one of the most interesting features in the history of the passing age. Established on the broadest principles of humanity and benevolence, and intended to ascertain by a fair experiment the capacity of the colored race for civilization, enlightened government, and self-culture, they have hitherto more than answered the sanguine hopes of their founders and benefactors. An experiment so well begun, and for so high an object, and opening so bright a promise, deserves not only good wishes, but a steady and active support.

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If any other evidence of the value of the Treaty, than that to which we have called the attention of our readers, were needed, it would be found in the triumph it has gained over public opinion. Rarely has a treaty in any country, involving such grave and complicated matters of dispute, been approved by so unanimous a voice. Look back to Jay's Treaty, which turned out to be highly advantageous to the nation, and call to mind the bitter hostility with which it was everywhere assailed, the ferment, the public meetings composed of all political parties, the denunciations and remonstrances, which almost shook the firmness of Washington himself; and then compare these events with the tranquillity, and even the rejoicings, of the whole land, when the results of the late negotiation were sent abroad. This impulse of approbation has been confirmed by eight months of deliberate inquiry and calm thought. That there should be opposition in some quarters is not strange; antagonist principles, and antagonist parties, exist in all free countries; and a public measure of this magnitude will never fail to call them into action. But, after all, the effective opposition, as manifested in the national legislature, was inconsiderable. In the vote upon the bill making appropriations for the execution of the Treaty, there were only four negative voices in the Senate, and about forty in the other House; a unanimity almost without a parallel in any vote upon a measure of great national interest.

The Senators who spoke against the Treaty, and whose speeches have been printed, seem to have taken the ground, that the United States were wholly right, and Great Britain wholly wrong, and that Mr. Webster had nothing to do but to insist peremptorily upon every demand he chose to make. An argument built upon this assumption would be equally strong against any treaty that could possibly have been effected. They moreover complain, that all the differences between the two countries were not reconciled and settled. What grain of sound policy, wisdom, or practical sense, can be detected in this objection? Shall we never begin a good work, because we cannot complete it, at once, to our entire satisfaction? Is it not a great and substantial gain to remove some of the bars to peace, harmony, and reciprocal intercourse, although others may remain, and await the issue of more favorable circumstances? Shall we do nothing, be-

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cause we cannot do every thing, and do all in our own way? In some of these arguments, also, the spirit of party is seen to be working so rifely at bottom, as to take away much of the force they might otherwise possess, and to show that honest convictions, when derived through this medium, may receive their shape and hue from prejudice and preconceived opinions. This is to be regretted, since, to whatever extent the ebullitions of party spirit may be endured in our domestic affairs, it should never be suffered to raise its hydra head in our relations with foreign countries. Wherever these relations are concerned, there should be but one party, and that party the whole nation, animated and moved by one heart and one soul. The Treaty has sustained itself against all these assaults. By the discussions to which they have given life, its real merits have been more conspicuously brought to light, and more deeply impressed on the public mind; and experience will every day prove, that what is now regarded as an honorable and fortunate achievement, will have a permanent and salutary influence on the prosperity of the country.

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Art. X. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *The Neighbours; a Story of Every-day Life.* By Frederika Bremer. Translated from the Swedish. By Mary Howitt. In Two Volumes. 12mo. Boston: James Munroe and Company.

We are glad to meet with a readable edition of this charming book, — one, in which the type and paper suggest no notion of a conspiracy between the oculist and the printer, each playing into the other's hands, and each levying a per centage upon the other's receipts. We hope that the publishers will have no occasion to regret their enterprise in issuing it, after so many thousands of the newspaper edition had already been circulated; a form of printing which seems likely to take from the regular booksellers all their occupation in republishing English books, and which, we understand, has already wrought some astonishing conversions on the subject of International Copyright among the signers of the publishers' Memorial. What an excellent manufacturer of spectacles is self-interest, and how full of "moral suasion" are its dulcet tones!

The great popularity which this novel has enjoyed, and is enjoying, and which makes it unnecessary for us to enter into any detailed analysis of the story, or to point out with any minuteness its claims to favorable regard, is a compliment alike to the good taste of our people and the merits of the book itself. For, although the favor with which it has been received is to be ascribed partly to the new scenes and forms of life which it delineates, and partly to the fact that it describes a state of society and manner of living not unlike those of New England, yet we think, that its success rests not so much upon these elements as upon its truth, its simplicity, its naturalness, and its pure moral feeling; and it has been a source of gratification to us, that the power of appreciating these good qualities remains unimpaired in a community which has been so drugged with copious doses of Bulwer, Marryatt, and D'Israeli.

The scene of this novel is laid in Sweden, in the country, in our own age, and among persons in the middle ranks of life; consequently, the author relies upon the fidelity of her pictures, and the accuracy of her sketches, to awaken and keep alive the interest of the reader, and derives no aid from either the softening haze of antiquity, or the dazzling atmosphere of high life. It was an experiment of some boldness, but one in which her success has been complete. Her work is a new proof of the

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power, with which genius is clothed, of finding the materials for poetry, and the elements of romantic fiction, in the life that lies around us, and in those joys and sorrows, hopes and fears, that bloom, like wild flowers, along that common highway that leads from the cradle to the grave. She has taught us to apprehend the force of Goethe's remark, that "Life outweighs all things, if love lies within it."

It begins, where most novels end, with a marriage. A physician, in the autumn of his life, selects for his wife a lady no longer young; and the early chapters describe, with great simplicity and beauty, the journey of the new married couple to their home, and their first experiments in housekeeping. As is not unfrequently the case in the Old World, it is a union brought about more by mutual esteem and confidence than by love; and the gradual unfolding of a warmer feeling in the breast of the grateful and conscientious wife is very pleasingly and naturally traced. The writer has not taken any considerable pains with the construction of her story, and many of her incidents are mere episodes, contributing nothing to the *dénouement* of the plot. It is rather an imaginary journal than any thing else, kept by a clever, observant, and warm-hearted woman, in which she sketches, for the amusement of an absent friend, the characters of her neighbours, and relates the events of her own tranquil home, and the occurrences that take place around her. The highest charm of the work, in our apprehension, dwells, from first to last, in the humble home of the hero and heroine, if we may so call them; a home dignified by tranquil virtue, blest with serene contentment, and bright with the sunshine of confiding love. Nor are we at all displeased with the occasional glimpses, which the young housekeeper gives us, into the flour-barrel and the store-closet, though, on one or two occasions, we confess, a fastidious taste might object that the principle of unreserve has been carried a little too far. The character of the husband, Dr. Werner, (we acknowledge that we grow a little weary of his *soubriquet* of "Bear"), is very happily conceived and executed; and, though perfectly natural, is by no means a commonplace one. His various excellences of mind and heart are gradually unfolded, and with no violations of probability; so that, though we begin with nothing more than respect, we end with reverence and admiration. And the artless simplicity and unaffected modesty with which the writer speaks of herself, her errors, her mistakes, her short-comings, her unreasonable fears, and her self-distrust, interest us also warmly in her, and give us assurance, that the good Doctor has chosen for his helpmate a loving and yet a strong nature, who will judge herself

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with more severity than any one else, who will bear cheerfully her part of the burdens of life, and is only in danger of carrying the principle of self-sacrifice too far. The simple, homely beauty, and perfect naturalness, of some of the passages in their domestic life, can hardly be surpassed, and they touch, at once, the source of smiles and tears.

The most elaborately drawn character, and, on the whole, a very successful one, is that of the widowed mother-in-law. The combination which she presents, of high and stern qualities of character and resolute strength of will, with the homely virtues of thrift, order, punctuality, and good housekeeping, though not very uncommon in real life, is yet a difficult one for a writer of fiction to manage. When the attempt is made, the result is apt to be a sort of hybrid monster, in which the blending of the two classes of qualities is as violent and unnatural as the union of the two parts of a centaur or a mermaid. But this is not the case with "*Ma chère mère*," whose character is a harmonious whole, well proportioned and symmetrically developed. The conception is quite original, and it is very well executed and sustained. Her strong sense, her energy of will, her sternness, her fierce explosions of temper, her superficial harshness and real kindness of nature, her depth of feeling, and stoical power of suppressing all expressions of it, her excellent management of her household affairs, her economy, and practical knowledge of life, all conspire to produce a very impressive picture, which becomes more and more striking to the last. Her speeches and proverbs are rather too long and too frequent, and her severity of tongue seems sometimes carried too far. We confess, too, that we like her better in the quiet and every-day scenes, such as those in which she scolds and manages her froward daughters-in-law, than in those more impassioned ones, in which the deeper chords of her nature are struck, and which the author has most carefully elaborated. The scene immediately following the detection of her son's fault seems a little overdone, and the effects produced are rather disproportioned to the cause; but, on the other hand, the pathetic beauty of the reconciliation is of the highest order, and the heart of him is little to be envied who can read it unmoved. The incident, too, of her discovery of her own blindness, is strikingly and naturally told; and the softening influence of her revived affection for her son upon her stern nature is beautifully delineated. We feel that we owe an obligation to the writer, who has enriched the gallery of fiction with a portrait of a character at once so original and so natural, and which we may contemplate with the mind's eye with the highest satisfaction, though, in real life,

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it might be somewhat of an inconvenience to have so formidable a person within visiting distance.

The writer has evidently labored the character of Bruno very much; but here her success has not been so great. She is not so much at home in the dark, the terrible, and the tragic, as in the gentle, the domestic, and the feminine. He does not seem to be in unison with the rest of the picture; and the tranquil landscape, into which he is thrown, forms hardly an appropriate background for the wild and stormy grandeur of a figure like his. The impression, which the character as a whole leaves upon us, is that it is not a perfectly natural one. There is too much of stage effect in him, and too many elements of the melo-dramatic hero, made up of starts and burnt cork. There is so much that is dangerous in his nature, that we cannot stifle a vague feeling of apprehension as to the happiness of the gentle and lovely being whose fate becomes linked with his. It seems like the lamb lying down with the lion, and we cannot but fear that his very caresses may draw blood. The incident of his killing the horse is a gratuitous piece of barbarity, for which we can hardly forgive him or the author. But we would not be understood by these criticisms as saying, that the character is a failure. Such is by no means the case, for it has great, though not unqualified, merit. We are provoked into making these unfavorable comparisons by the admirable skill with which the other characters are drawn; and what we say in disparagement of Bruno must be taken as a compliment to the rest of the book. We wish that Hagar had been entirely omitted. She seems, from first to last, an unseemly excrescence; and the tragedy with which she interrupts the "golden wedding" of the Dahls appears out of keeping and in bad taste. And, in spite of her death-bed confessions, we have some ugly misgivings on the subject of her relations with Bruno, and as to how far they may or may not have made him unworthy of Serena.

And Serena; how shall we adequately express our sense of her serene and tranquil beauty, of that water-lily grace and purity that float softly around her, of that mild lunar light that beams from her gentle brow and eyes? She recalls one of whom an English poet so beautifully sings;

> "A perfect woman, nobly planned
> To warn, to comfort, and command;
> And yet a spirit still, and bright
> With something of an angel light."

Again do we thank the author for this fine picture of feminine excellence, in which we see so admirably harmonized and blended all the best attributes of a womanly nature; imagina-

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tion, sensibility, taste, high sense of duty, religious faith, cultivation, united with warm affections, practical good sense, knowledge of common things, a cheerful temperament, and the daily, unrepining discharge of lowly duties. There is always danger that a character like hers, in the hands of a writer of fiction, will degenerate into insipidity. But from that danger our author has most happily escaped, and she has made her as interesting as she is innocent and lovely; thanks to the touch of a pencil at once firm, delicate, and discriminating. She glides from house to house, and from scene to scene, like a sunbeam, making every one feel that they are nearer heaven, while she is with them. As we lay down the book, we feel as if she must be a person whom we had known and loved, who had given us a new sense of the capacities of humanity, and we involuntarily call down a benediction upon her head, and pray that her "life may be all poetry."

There are many other characters, drawn with more or less excellence, and all giving us that impression of reality, which is so sure a test of the creative hand of genius. There are also many lively and entertaining scenes, described with great spirit and truth, showing an uncommon power of observation, a strong, though well-regulated, perception of the ludicrous, and a marked talent for satirical painting. And on almost every page, we find a casual remark, a reflection, a little trait of human goodness or of human weakness, which fairly startles us by its truth, and by its reminding us of something in our own experience. What a touch of nature, for instance, there is in the self-distrust with which Madame Werner goes to visit the Dahls, (vol. I. p. 154,) feeling that she will be no more welcome than a dun, and then, when she is so warmly and cordially received, saying to herself, with all the alacrity of self-disparagement, that it is all on her husband's account! How perfectly natural, too, is the breaking up of the party at the Dahls', (vol. II. p. 180,) where "*Ma chère mère*," after all the guests are shawled and cloaked for their departure, seizes her violin and plays a merry tune, and all the company begin dancing in their strange costume! Who has not marked the same reluctance to leave a pleasant party, when the spirits are all attuned to enjoyment, and a light form is seen to bound into the drawing-room to take a farewell whirl in her cloak and moccasins? These little touches, like Shakspeare's Cæsar asking Antony to pass round and to speak to him in the other ear, because he was deaf on one side, mark, more than any thing else, the master hand.

The impression which the book, as a whole, leaves upon us,

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is one of great truth and fidelity to nature in all its essential elements. We have remarked, that it delineates a kind of life not unlike our own in New England, the resemblance being suggested by the long winters, the indoor occupations, the general cultivation, and the absence of any marked differences of rank and fortune. But in one respect, there is an emphatic distinction, and a similarity to the manners and social habits delineated in German works of fiction. There is a great deal more of the expression of feeling of all kinds. Emotions lie much nearer the surface than among us, where something of coldness and reserve characterizes the intercourse of friends and relatives. Tears, kisses, embraces, claspings of the hand, and enthusiastic speeches, are in much more common circulation than with us. There are many things described as taking place, which, judged by our standard, would seem extravagant and unnatural, not to say in bad taste or even ludicrous; and some of the communications which the new-married wife makes to her correspondent startle us as being very unreserved. But we must be careful not to judge of these things by our own standard, till we are assured that this is the true one, and that we do not err towards the other extreme of apathy, coldness, and reserve. We can have no question, that these things are perfectly natural to a Swede or a German, and that our habits would strike him as singular and repulsive.

But the highest charm of the book is its pure and healthy tone of moral feeling. The lessons which it teaches are weighty, and impressively conveyed. It shows us how much better a contented spirit is than houses and lands, — what pure and unfailing sources of happiness are to be found in that culture of the moral, intellectual, and social nature, from which no human being is excluded. It gives cheerful and animating views of human life and the Providence that governs it, and teaches us that no life can be unhappy, which is dedicated to duty and quickened by the affections. It proclaims the value of those simple and natural pleasures which lie scattered at our feet, and which may be freely enjoyed without wealth, or conspicuous station, or high endowments. The author's mind is an eminently healthy one, and such is the tone of her book. It breathes over the mind with a bracing and invigorating influence, akin to that of the mountain wind upon the bodily frame. She has looked at the world through no false and distorting medium of pride or gloom. We hear no voice of whining discontent, or sullen misanthropy, or querulous distress. And, above all, we recognize with peculiar pleasure her emphatic testimony against the pestilent doctrine, that great powers necessarily produce

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great misery, that susceptibility to beauty is only productive of keener pangs of disappointment, and that the more finely attuned souls must of necessity be jangled into harsher discord. High gifts, superior endowments, fine susceptibilities, are increased means of enjoyment; and it is only from the abuse and perversion of them, that misery and discontent arise. It is from the indulgence of the selfish passions, that most of the unhappiness of life springs. The first rule, to insure happiness, is, to forget one's self, and the second is, to remember others; and we honor and feel grateful to the author of "The Neighbours," for the power and beauty with which she has enforced these truths.

We hope to have the remaining works of Miss Bremer presented to us in an English dress. If they are as good as this one, they will prove permanent and valuable accessions to our literature, taking their place side by side with our best novels of domestic life. The task of the translator seems to have been performed in some haste, for we have noticed some careless, and a few clumsy, expressions, which might easily have been improved. Can it be true, that the book was translated directly from the Swedish? From some phrases, we should infer a German original.

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2. — *Commentaries on the Law of Bills of Exchange, Foreign and Inland, as administered in England and America; with Occasional Illustrations from the Commercial Law of the Nations of Continental Europe.* By Joseph Story, L.L. D., one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University. Boston: Little & Brown. 1843. 8vo. pp. 608.

Another work from Mr. Justice Story comes before us. Volume presses after volume, filling us with amazement at the productiveness and learning of the author. On some future occasion we hope to consider at length the merits of these works, and to endeavour to form an estimate of the position of the writer. For the present, we confine ourselves to a brief notice of the book before us.

On the threshold, we are met by a peculiarity in the treatment of the subject, which is worthy of attention. The Law of Bills of Exchange is presented separate from that of Promissory Notes, and other negotiable securities of a kindred nature. This plan differs essentially from that adopted by all the English elemen-

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tary writers upon the same subject. In the standard works of Mr. Chitty and Mr. Baron Bayley, the doctrines respecting Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes are intermixed in the same treatise, and the incautious student is not unfrequently misled by fancied analogies between the two, which do not in reality exist. The method of our author is the result of a more careful scientific analysis of the subject. It appears, that his attention was attracted to the practical inconvenience of the former treatment of it in the course of his instruction of the law students in Harvard University.

If the health of the author should permit, he proposes, in another volume, to present a full review of the law relating to Promissory Notes, Checks, and other negotiable instruments. The two distinct treatises of Mr. Justice Story will cover the ground which has been occupied by a single treatise, according to the method of English authors.

The present work embodies much learning derived from foreign sources, usually unexplored by the writers and practisers of Westminster Hall. Among the most important of these are the volumes of Savary, Pothier, Pardessus, and Heineccius. From the latter most distinguished jurist, the author has borrowed a motto, which declares the existence, to a certain extent, of a *common law* on the subject of Bills of Exchange throughout the civilized world; "*Quamvis vero tot Gentium, Civitatumque Leges Cambiales non per omnia conveniant, sunt tamen quædam omnibus communia.*" The circumstance, that the principles which govern Bills of Exchange are common to so many nations, gives a treatise on this subject a value beyond that which attaches to the treatment of merely municipal jurisprudence.

The present work, though not so large as that of Mr. Chitty, contains all the essential doctrines on the subject, carefully arranged, and established on their proper principles. Nothing is more grateful to the student of the law, than to be able to discern the reason on which rules are founded. Then he may truly hail "the gladsome light of jurisprudence," which his great master, Lord Coke, was so fond of contemplating. In the treatise before us, as in all that have preceded it from the same source, the author has constantly aimed to present the principles of the law. But the work has the additional practical value derived from the collection and proper arrangement of the authorities bearing on the subject.

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QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE.

The Farmer's Encyclopædia, and Dictionary of Rural Affairs. By Cuthbert W. Johnson, Esq. Adapted to the United States by a Practical Farmer. Philadelphia: Carey and Hart.

BIOGRAPHY.

Dawnings of Genius; or, the Early Lives of Some Eminent Persons of the Last Century. By Anne Pratt, Author of "Flowers and their Associations," &c. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo.

Life and Writings of Ebenezer Porter Mason; Interspersed with Hints to Parents and Instructors on the Training and Education of a Child of Genius. By Denison Olmsted, Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in Yale College. New York: Dayton and Newman. 12mo. pp. 252.

EDUCATION.

Education. Part I. History of Education, Ancient and Modern. Part II. A Plan of Culture and Instruction, Based on Christian Principles, and Designed to Aid in the Right Education of Youth, Physically, Intellectually, and Morally. By H. J. Smith, A. M. New York: Harper and Brothers. 12mo. pp. 340.

Edward's First Lessons in Grammar. By the Author of "Theory of Teaching." Boston: Thomas H. Webb & Co. 12mo. pp. 108.

The former work of this author showed so much reflection, taste, and even genius, that we took up this little volume, confident that we should find the obscurity of the subject illuminated by original remarks and illustrations, and made interesting by the skilful mode of treatment. We have not been disappointed. We have read the book through, though it was intended for the very youngest class of pupils, with a lively gratification, and even a higher sense of the author's intellectual powers, than we had from her former work. She makes the pupil learn for himself all that is requisite to a clear understanding of the nature of the different parts of speech, which so many little victims have hopelessly sighed over, and gives him, or makes him give, practical examples, closing each particular part with a passage of interest and merit, which, of itself, cannot but attract the curious and searching mind of the pupil. He is thus pleasantly carried forward, his interest heightening at every step, until, after a few lessons, which have entertained him without fatigue, he has gained more knowledge of the principles of English grammar, than was formerly acquired by years of drudgery over the unintelligible names once in use.

We have a little fault to find, like thorough-paced critics as we are. The author repeats, on page 95, the old and whimsical explanation of the con-

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junction *and*, that it was originally the imperative of *anan*, *to add*. The relation expressed by this conjunction is one of the first and simplest that would be perceived by human beings, forming a language. The idea of the imperative *add*, is compounded of several subordinate ideas, and would naturally come much later in the order of time, than the other. An idea so natural and simple as this conjunction conveys, we may be sure, would be among the primitive conceptions, and would be expressed by a primitive word. Looking into other languages, we find this is the fact; looking into our own, we find the word *and* runs back as far as any other word in the language; it is *and* in the Anglo-Saxon, *und* in German, and, in the ancient German, *enti*, *ent*, and *unt*; clearly an underived term.

So, too, on page 105, the old and most erroneous theory of the termination *s* in the possessive case is repeated. *John's book*, it is said, was originally *John his book*, the *s* final being only a contraction of the word *his*. Nothing is clearer than that the possessive or genitive case in *s* was derived from the ancient Greek, or the Pelasgic and Sanscrit, the parents of the Greek, and transmitted through the Latin, Gothic, old German, and Saxon languages, to the modern German, Swedish, Danish, and English; and it has nothing to do with the pronoun *his*. Indeed, this may be seen by changing the gender or number of the noun; as, *Eliza her book*, *the men their book*, and so on.

The Lectures delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, at New Bedford, August 17, 1842. Published under the Direction of the Board of Censors. Boston: William D. Ticknor. 12mo.

The Primary School Reader. Part First. By William D. Swan, Principal of the Mayhew Grammar School, Boston. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 12mo. pp. 36.

Greek Lessons, adapted to the Author's Greek Grammar; for the Use of Beginners. By E. A. Sophocles, A. M. Hartford: H. Huntington. 12mo. pp. 116.

This is a useful work for beginners in the Greek Grammar. It contains a series of well selected sentences to illustrate the grammatical forms, followed by brief notes, and a vocabulary of the words used. The arrangement is judicious, and the book is marked by the author's usual precision, terseness, and skill.

HISTORY.

Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Vol. VIII. of the Third Series. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo.

The History of Political Parties in the State of New York, from the Ratification of the Federal Constitution, to December, 1840. By Jabez D. Hammond. Albany: C. Van Benthuysen. In Two Volumes. 8vo. pp. 588 and 551.

History of Vermont, Natural, Civil, and Statistical, in Three Parts. With a New Map of the State, and Two Hundred Engravings. By Zadoc Thompson. Burlington: Chauncey Goodrich. 8vo. pp. 652.

A History of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands, with Remarks upon the Natural History of the Islands, Origin, Language, Traditions, and Usages of the Inhabitants. By the Rev. John Williams, late of the London Missionary Society. Illustrated with Twenty-five Plates and a Map. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 525.

Historia Universal, Escrita en Aleman por Johannes Von Müller, y Traducida por Don Ángel Calderon de la Barca. En Cuatro Tomos. Tomo I. Boston: Little y Brown. 8vo. pp. 420.

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JUVENILE BOOKS.

The Golden Vase; a Gift for the Young. By Hannah F. Gould. Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey. 12mo. pp. 224.

The Rushbearing; or Truth Triumphant. A Tale. New York: Saxton & Miles. 12mo. pp. 71.

The Little Keepsake; Selected in Part from the Writings of J. C. Lavater, by an American Parent. New York: S. Colman. 24mo.

The Young Islanders. A Tale of the Last Century. By Jefferys Taylor. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 306.

Peter Parley's Short Stories for Long Nights. With Engravings. Boston: W. D. Ticknor. 16mo. pp. 140.

Marco Paul's Travels and Adventures in Pursuit of Knowledge. City of New York. By Jacob Abbott, Author of the Rollo, Lucy, and Jonas Books. Boston: T. Harrington Carter & Co. 12mo.

LAW.

Reports of the Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. By Theron Metcalf. Volume III. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 632.

Remarks on the Early Laws of Massachusetts Bay; with the Code adopted in the Year 1641, and called the Body of Liberties, now first printed. By Francis C. Gray. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown.

Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court, and in the Court for the Correction of Errors, of the State of New York. By Nicholas Hill, jun., Counsellor at Law. Vol. III. New York: Gould, Banks, & Co. 8vo. pp. 750.

Charge to the Grand Jury in Washington County, November Term, 1842. By Isaac F. Redfield, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. Burlington: Chauncey Goodrich. 8vo. pp. 16.

MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

The Mother's Medical Guide in Children's Diseases. By William A. Alcott, Author of "The Young Man's Guide," "The Young Woman's Guide," "The House I Live in," &c., &c. Boston: T. R. Marvin. 12mo. pp. 314.

General Therapeutics and Materia Medica, Adapted for a Medical Text Book. By Robley Dunglison, M. D., Professor of Institutes of Medicine, &c., in Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 515 and 489.

Treatise on the Dental Art, founded on Actual Experience. Illustrated with Two Hundred and Forty-one Figures in Lithography, and Fifty-four Wood Cuts. By F. Maury, Dentist of the Royal Polytechnic School. Translated from the French. With Notes and Additions, by J. B. Savier, Doctor of Dental Surgery. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 324.

A System of Anatomy for the Use of Students of Medicine. By Caspar Wistar, M. D., late Professor of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania. Entirely Remodelled, and Illustrated by more than Two Hundred Engravings. By J. Pancoast, M. D., Professor of Anatomy in Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia, &c. &c. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co. Two Volumes. 8vo.

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A Popular Treatise on the Human Teeth and Dental Surgery, being a Practical Guide for the Early Management of the Health and Teeth. By E. G. Kelley, M. D. Boston: James Munroe & Co.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Confessions of St. Augustine. Boston: E. P. Peabody. 12mo. pp. 285.

Sketches of Modern Philosophy, especially among the Germans By James Murdock, D. D. Hartford: John C. Wells. 16mo. pp. 201.

A Complete and Infallible System of Practical Book Keeping, by Double Entry. Expressly arranged for Conducting the Business of Importers, Manufacturers, and Dealers generally. By Joseph Dando, Public Accountant. Philadelphia: Published by the Author. 4to. pp. 176.

American Text Book for Letters, with a Diagram of the Capital Alphabet, and Copious Remarks on the Various Letters now in Use. By Nathaniel Dearborn. Boston: N. Dearborn. 8vo. pp. 54.

The Critical and Miscellaneous Writings of Theodore Parker, Minister of the Second Church in Roxbury. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 360.

The Pirate's Own Book, or Authentic Narratives of the Lives, Exploits, and Executions of the most Celebrated Sea Robbers. With Historical Sketches of the Joassamee, Spanish, Ladrone, West Indian, Malay, and Algerine Pirates. New York: A. & C. B. Edwards.

The Temperance Annual and Cold Water Magazine, for 1843. Philadelphia: Drew & Scammell. 16mo. pp. 188.

A Practical System of Book Keeping, by Double and Single Entry, both in Single and Copartnership Business; Exemplified in Three Sets of Books; with the most approved Forms of Exchanges, Calculations, &c. By B. Wood Foster, Practical Accountant. Boston: Saxton, Pierce, & Co. 8vo. pp. 150.

Elements of Architecture, containing the Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian Orders, with all their Details and Embellishments. Also the Theory and Practice of Carpentry, Exhibiting Thirty-six Experiments made on various kinds of American Timber; Experiments made in various ways on European Timber, by European Artists. Containing Twenty-eight Plates. By A. Benjamin, Architect. Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey. 8vo. pp. 232.

The Twenty-second Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Mercantile Library Association. Clinton Hall, New York, January, 1843. New York: James P. Wright. 8vo. pp. 19.

On Colonial Literature, Science, and Education; written with a View of Improving the Literary, Educational, and Public Institutions of British North America. By George R. Younge, Esquire, of Halifax, Nova Scotia; Barrister at Law, &c. In Three Volumes. Vol. I. Halifax, Nova Scotia: J. H. Crosskill & Co. 16mo. pp. 363.

An Appeal to the Common Sense of the People. Or, The Miller Delusion. By a Citizen of Boston. Boston: I. R. Butts. 12mo.

Domestic Economy; being Five Hundred Receipts for Culinary, Medicinal, and Miscellaneous Purposes. By P. P. Roger. Third Edition, enlarged. Boston: Joseph Dowe. 12mo. pp. 62.

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Tenth Annual Report of the Seaman's Aid Society, of the City of Boston. Boston: J. H. Eastburn. 8vo. pp. 26.

Lights and Shadows of Factory Life in New England. By a Factory Girl. New York: J. Winchester. pp. 32.

A Treatise on the Necessity of Capital Punishment. By Jonathan Cogswell, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Theological Institution of Connecticut. Hartford: Elihu Geer. 12mo. pp. 58.

Character Everything to the Young; or, a Pastor's Gift to the Youth of his Charge. By Joel Hawes, D. D. Hartford: Elihu Geer. 16mo. pp. 62.

The History and Philosophy of Animal Magnetism, with Practical Instructions for the Exercise of this Power. Being a Complete Compend of all the Information now existing upon this Important Subject. By a Practical Magnetizer. Boston: J. N. Bradley & Co. 8vo. pp. 32.

Sketches of Buchanan's Discoveries in Neurology. Louisville: J. Eliot & Co. 8vo. pp. 120.

An Article on the Latimer Case. From the March Number of the Law Reporter. Boston: Bradbury, Soden, & Co. 8vo. pp. 18.

The Northern Lakes a Summer Residence for Invalids of the South. By Daniel Drake, M. D., Professor in the Medical Institute of Louisville. Louisville, Ky.: I. Maxwell, jun. 8vo. pp. 29.

Letters to the Lexington Intelligencer, written during the Pendency before the Senate of Kentucky of a Bill Repealing the Laws of 1833, 1840, and 1794, Prohibiting the Slave Trade. By C. M. Clay. Lexington, Ky.: William R. Hervey. 8vo. pp. 12.

The Better Interests of the Country in Connexion with International Copyright. A Lecture Delivered at the Lecture Room of the Society Library, February 2, 1843. By Cornelius Matthews. New York and London: Wiley & Putnam. 12mo. pp. 30.

MUSIC.

Musical Gift for the Young; containing Musical Anecdotes and Stories, with 42 pieces of Original and Selected Music. By the Singing Master. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 12mo. pp. 190.

NEW PERIODICALS.

Sears's New Monthly Family Magazine. With Several Hundred Engravings. Boston: Saxton, Peirce, & Co. Vol. I. No. 1. January, 1843. 8vo. pp. 48.

Sargent's New Monthly Magazine of Literature, Fashion, and the Fine Arts. Edited by Epes Sargent. Vol. I. No. 1. January, 1843. New York: Sargent & Co. 8vo. pp. 96.

Miss Leslie's Magazine. Homebook of Literature, Fashion, and Domestic Economy. Edited by Miss E. Leslie, and T. S. Arthur. Vol. I. No. 1. January, 1843. Philadelphia: Morton McMichael.

Anglo-American Magazine. Vol. I. No. 1. February, 1843. Boston: J. N. Bradley & Co. 8vo. pp. 64.

The American Review, and Metropolitan Magazine. Vol. I. No. 1. January, 1843. New York: Saxton & Miles. 8vo. pp. 102.

The Medical News and Library. Vol. I. No. 1. January, 1843. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 48.

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The Boy's and Girl's Magazine. Edited by Mrs. S. Colman. Vol. I. No. 1. January, 1843. Boston: T. Harrington Carter. 16mo.

The New Englander. Vol. I. No. 1. January, 1843. New Haven: R. L. Hamlen. 8vo. pp. 152.

The Magnet. By Le Roy Sunderland. Vol. I. No. 1. New York: Magnet Office. 8vo. pp. 24.

Bibliotheca Sacra; or Tracts and Essays on Topics connected with Biblical Literature and Theology. Edited by Edward Robinson, D. D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York; Author of Biblical Researches in Palestine, &c. February, 1843. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. 204.

Literary Advertiser and Publishers' Circular. Vol. I. No. 1. March, 1843. Boston: Tappan & Dennet. 4to. pp. 4.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

The Sleepwaker. A Tale from the German of Heinrich Zschokke. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 224.

Tales and Sketches. Translated from the Italian, French, and German. By Nathaniel Greene. Boston: 12mo. pp. 216.

Rosina Meadows, the Village Maid; or Temptations Unveiled. A Story of City Scenes and Every-day Life. By William B. English. Boston: Redding & Co. 8vo. pp. 32.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

The Social Compact, Exemplified in the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; a Lecture, delivered before the Franklin Lyceum, at Providence, R. I., November 25, 1842. By John Quincy Adams. Providence: Knowles & Vose. 8vo. pp. 32.

The Eloquence of the Pulpit, with Illustrations from St. Paul. An Oration before the Porter Rhetorical Society of the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass., 1842. By George W. Bethune, Minister of the Third Reformed Dutch Church, Philadelphia. Andover: William Peirce. 8vo. pp. 63.

The Elements of National Greatness. An Address before the New England Society of the City of New York, December 22, 1842. By Rev. George B. Cheever. New York: John S. Taylor & Co.

Address delivered before the Philological Institute, on the Eighth of December, 1842, the Fifteenth Anniversary. By T. J. Bigham, Esq. Pittsburgh: A. Jaynes. 8vo. pp. 24.

Common School Education. An Address delivered before the School Society, Plymouth, December 12, 1842. By Rev. Merrill Richardson. Hartford: Case, Tiffany, & Co. 8vo. pp. 24.

Inaugural Address of the Hon. Albert Gallatin, LL. D., on taking the Chair as President of the New York Historical Society, Tuesday Evening, February 7th, 1843. New York. 8vo. pp. 21.

Anniversary Address before the American Institute of the City of New York, at the Broadway Tabernacle, October 20, 1842, during the Fifteenth Annual Fair. By the Hon. H. G. O. Colby, of New Bedford, Mass. New York: James Van Norden & Co. 8vo. pp. 20.

An Address delivered at the Opening of the Gennesee Wesleyan Seminary, January 13, 1843. By Rev. Dr. Olin, President of the Wesleyan University. Rochester: David Hoyt. 8vo. pp. 24.

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POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

The Widow's Son; a Sketch from Real Life. By R. C. Waterston. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 8vo. pp. 14.

The Sacred Seal; or the Wanderer Restored, a Poem; by Rev. N. Emmons Johnson. New York: John S. Taylor & Co. 12mo.

The Burning of Schenectady, and other Poems. By Alfred B. Street. Albany: Weare C. Little. 12mo. pp. 36.

Poems by the Rev. Jedediah Huntington, M. D. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 12mo. pp. 231.

Manhood, or Scenes from the Past; a Series of Poems. By William Plumer, Jr. Boston: Tappan & Dennet. 12mo. pp. 148.

Selections from the British Poets. By Fitz-Green Halleck. New York: Harper & Brothers. In Two Vols. 12mo. pp. 359 and 360.

Poetical Blossoms; Containing the Wants of Man, the Sun Dial, the Death of Children, &c., by John Q. Adams; the Wants of Woman, and other Poetry. Lowell: J. Ladd. 16mo. pp. 32.

The Croton Wreath, or Boston Washingtonian Melodies. No. 1. Edited by William Wallace, late of Kentucky. Boston: Charles H. Brainard. 12mo. pp. 52.

Ifigenia, Tragedia di Giuseppe Rocchietti da Casale. New York. 8vo. pp. 24.

THEOLOGY AND SERMONS.

Lucille; or, the Reading of the Bible. By Adolphe Monod. Translated from the French. New York: Robert Carter. 12mo. pp. 240.

A Casket of Four Jewels, for Young Christians. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 16mo. pp. 115.

Christian Duty; or, Brief Practical Directions for those Commencing a Christian Life. By John S. C. Abbott, Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Nantucket; Author of "Child at Home," "Mother at Home," &c. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 16mo.

A Sermon preached at the Ordination of the Rev. Amos Smith, as Colleague Pastor of the New North Church in Boston; Wednesday, December 7, 1842. By Francis Parkman, D. D., Pastor of the said Church. Boston: William Crosby & Co. 8vo. pp. 47.

The Christian Name and Christian Liberty. A Sermon preached at the Church in Brattle Square, on Sunday, October 30, 1842. By Samuel K. Lothrop, Minister of that Church. Published by Request. Boston: John H. Eastburn. 8vo. pp. 39.

Illustrations of Biblical Literature, Exhibiting the History and Fate of the Sacred Writings, from the Earliest Period to the Present Century; Including Biographical Notices of Translators and other Eminent Biblical Scholars. By Rev. James Townley, D. D. New York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. Two Volumes. 8vo. pp. 602 and 604.

Select Library of Religious Literature. No. 1. January, 1843. D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell. 8vo. pp. 80.

Thoughts on Spiritual Subjects. Translated from the Writings of Fenelon. Boston: Samuel G. Simpkins. 12mo. pp. 148.

A Plea for the Poor. A Sermon, preached in the Old South Church, before the Howard Benevolent Society, December 20, 1842. By the Rev. E. N. Kirk. Boston: Tappan & Dennet. 16mo. pp. 64.

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Chronology of Prophecy, or an Illustration of the Prophecies of Daniel and Revelation, in a Series of Dissertations; accompanied with a Diagram. By John Lord. Boston: Saxton, Pierce, & Co.

A Sermon, preached in Hollis Street Church, on Sunday, December 4, 1842. By George W. Packard, jun., who died at Providence, R. I., Wednesday, December 14, 1842, aged 24 years. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 8vo. pp. 18.

Hints on Modern Evangelism, and on the Elements of a Church's Prosperity; a Discourse, delivered in the Charles Street Baptist Church, October 9, 1842. By Daniel Sharp. Published by Request. Boston: William D. Ticknor. 8vo. pp. 24.

The Christian Festival. A Sermon delivered on the Evening of Christmas-Day, in Saint John's Church, Charlestown. By P. H. Greenleaf, Rector of the Church. Boston: James B. Dow. 8vo.

The History, Object, and Proper Observance of the Holy Season of Lent. By the Rev. William Ingraham Kip, A. M.; Rector of Saint Paul's Church, in the City of Albany. Albany: Erastus H. Pease. 16mo. pp. 228.

Dowling's Reply to Miller. A Review of Mr. Miller's Theory of the End of the World in 1843. New York: J. R. Bigelow. 8vo.

A Review of the Second Advent Publications. First published in the New England Puritan. By Enoch Pond, D. D. Boston: S. N. Dickinson. 12mo. pp. 72.

Puseyism Examined. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne, D. D., Author of the "History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century." With an Introductory Notice of the Author. By Robert Baird. New York: John S. Taylor & Co. 12mo. pp. 79.

The Wisdom and Goodness of God in our Calamities. A Discourse, delivered on Thanksgiving Day, November 24, 1842. By Daniel Sharp. Published by Request. Boston: William D. Ticknor.

A Discourse preached in St Peter's Church, Salem, on Sunday, Feb. 19, 1843, on the Death of the Rt. Rev. Alexander V. Griswold, D. D., Bishop of the Eastern Diocese, and Senior Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States. By Charles Mason, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Salem. Salem: W. & S. B. Ives. pp. 23.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

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OF THE

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